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(but change "pleasure" into "strength".)

A. R. Bagshawe

Mores Catholici:

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

[Kenelm H. Digby.]

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BOOK III.

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MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

That the meek were blessed has already been seen incidentally in surveying the development of the mild and humble spirit in the reciprocal relations of political order, but in what manner they truly inherited the earth remains to be shown; and the attempt to explain this in reference to the history of the ages of faith, will constitute the subject of the present book.

"Beati mites," has been hitherto our theme, but now we must attend to the conclusion of that sentence, "quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram," and mark well the saintly commentators' distinction, who add with St. Jerome, "not the land of Juda," nor the land of this world "whose base affection many a spirit soils;" not the cursed deceitful land which beareth thorns and briars, which the cruelest warrior rather may possess, but the land which the Psalmist desired, saying, "Credo videre bona domini in terra viventium:" "for no one can possess the former land by meekness, but by pride *." "Beati mites: quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram," "that earth I believe," continues St. Augustine, of which it is said in the Psalm, "Spes mea es tu, portio mea in terra viventium:" for it signifies a certain solidity and stability of perpetual inheritance

* St. Hieronym. Comment. in Matth. v.

where the soul by a good affection rests in its place as the body rests upon the earth; this is the rest and life of the saints; of the meek who yield to improbity and resist not evil, but overcome evil by good *. "What then are the riches that the earth will offer to them? They shall be delighted in the multitude of peace. The proud are delighted in the multitude of gold, in the multitude of slaves, in the multitude of luxurious banquets; but what will be the riches and the delights of the meek? The multitude of peace. Their gold will be peace, their possessions peace, their life peace; they will love and desire it in their houses, in their business, in their wives, in their children, in their servants, in their friends, in their enemies: whatever they possess or desire will be peace to them; for God will be their peace for ever †." Nevertheless, though it was promised that the meek should inherit the earth, yet the redeemed children of the holy discipline were not like the Jews to be always looking for a temporal reward and blessing which would often be interrupted by that necessary sword which Christ came to send, or by that more ancient trial imposed in the command "Egredere de terra tua et de cognatione tua." They were not to possess the earth according to the conception of those who are immersed in matter and inextricably entangled in the net of the senses. The Israelites themselves were not to possess it like the Philistians, of whom we are told, that they had fat beeves and abundance of store, and of all that could gratify mere animal life. The first that sought to live on this earth like an inhabitant thereof, being indeed but a stranger and pilgrim, was Cain, and that the reprobate race may in a certain sense gain possession of the earth, is an evident fact, which must not be denied through that reckless love of antithesis in which some writers indulge according to the license of those associated with Nicole, who says, "it is the condition of man to have God or nothing:" on the contrary, we read that the devil would have given our blessed Lord all the kingdoms that he showed him from the pinnacle of the temple, if he would have worshipped him; and until God will arise to judgment that he may save all the meek

* St. August. Lib. I. de Serm. Dom. in Monte.
† Id. Tractat. in Ps. xxxvi. et in Ps. cxlvii.

upon earth, that adversary has beyond all doubt permission to bestow gifts on such men as consent to serve him, of which power, without recurring to fable, the world has in different ages beheld wondrous and fearful examples. Yet, on the other hand, the lofty and inspiring doctrines of the bright school must not be forgotten, which affirm that the real possession of the earth, and of its genuine good, can never be obtained by any excepting by those to whom that possession is promised; for not to insist upon the explanation of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who supposes that Satan lied when he said he would give all that to our Saviour, as if it had been at his disposal *, is it not clear to the dullest apprehension, that, in order to enjoy the fruits of a real possession, something more is required than the bare material and external gift, or the mere nominal right? for that these do not always of necessity confer the real personal good, may be witnessed in a thousand families and unquestionable instances; so that strictly speaking, not only according to the deepest conceptions of philosophical truth, but from the observation of the undeniable facts in human life, it may be said, that the proud or wicked can possess nothing, since every thing is evil to them, which is itself nothing. Sin and evil cannot have a substantial existence. "There is no substance of evil," says St. Basil, "for malice is not any thing subsisting." And St. Gregory Nazianzen says, "there is no essence of evil, nor does it subsist by itself, nor was it created by God;" and St. Epiphanius says, "there is no evil by itself subsisting." St. Augustin also says, "iniquity of itself is no substance, for iniquity is not the nature which God formed, but it is the perversity which man made; all natures are made by God: iniquity has not been made by itself, because iniquity has not been made †." The meek Hildegard expresses this with scholastic brevity, in writing to Eberhard, Bishop of Bamberg, "All things are made by God, and without him is nothing made, and this nothing is pride ‡," which the wicked alone possess. So that in fine to convey an idea of the possessions of the proud, one might borrow a similitude from those popular fables which

* Cateches. VIII. † Serm. I. in Ps. lxviii.
‡ Epist. ad Eberhard.

represent the splendour and beauty of the elfin elysium, in which to the eye of a seer, the illusion vanishes at the first glance, the young knights and beautiful damsels showing themselves as wrinkled carles and odious hags, their wealth turning into slate stones, their splendid plate into pieces of clay, fantastically twisted, and their stately halls changing into miserable damp caverns; an emblem, if rightly understood, teaching the real and inevitable condition which awaits the ambition of the proud; for as Cardan says, "Human things are rather shadows in the imagination, than essences of real subsistence *." On the other hand, it would be easy to show that the meek preservers of the interior life, can impart reality to earthly things by connecting them with what essentially exists in God; and not only that, but by faithfully continuing in obedience to the will of their Creator, beholding him in all creatures, and praising him in all their actions, besides really enjoying the positive material advantages which flow to them from all creatures, they are enabled to draw even higher and spiritual treasures of consolation, and rapture, from possessing somewhat of the very essence by which these creatures subsist. The world which the little flock was not to love, is not the beautiful creation of God, which with such multifarious excellence declares his wisdom, his beneficence, and his glory; it was by conquering himself, as the holy Columban said, that man was to trample upon the world "in se enim solo mundum aut diligit aut odit †." The world which he was to detest, had no more a material existence than the vice and evil which are a shadow in the embraces of the wicked: but as for the innocent, the admirable, and lovely creatures of God, they were to be hallowed and received with thanksgiving. The moderns, indeed, entertain such erroneous notions of spirituality in their theoretical contempt for matter, that not only would these sentiments be inadmissible to them, if they were with themselves consistent, but, according to their principles, it would be impossible to account for the creation of the material universe: but in Catholic philosophy there is no contradiction of the wisdom of nature, and the consequences of the Manichæan opinion

* Prudentia Civilis, cap. 91. † Instruct. III.

are, therefore, excluded. In a Catholic country every thing, to the eye of faith, seems to acquire a new and supernatural value, being sanctified to the holy end of supplying the spiritual necessities of redeemed men, and of glorifying God, both as Creator and Restorer. Harmony and innocence seem to reign there amidst creatures, as if they were no longer subject to vanity, and as if man were again placed like Adam in some other paradise of pleasure. The marble and gold of the mountain, the cedar and oak of the forest, and the flowers of the enamelled meadow, seem all to have a reference to the divine temples, and to the mystic beauty of holiness, and to have acquired in some sense an eternal duration. They who have minds capable of feeling the charm of beauty in material form, on descending into Italy perceive at once that it is the religion of the meek which has created in it such a multitude of lovely objects, and given men the means of really possessing the earth, changing its stones into magnificent churches, its metals into gorgeous altars, its minerals into exquisite paintings, crowning its hills with noble convents, and sprinkling its verdant plains with chapels and oratories; and, accordingly, we find that while the moderns ascribe their external prosperity, which by the way is always attended with the deformity that accompanies moral disorder, to their industry, to their superior skill and higher spirit, to the influence of their chosen system of philosophy, or to something arising from themselves, the faithful multitude in Catholic countries, ascribe all their possessions to God, and believe devoutly, that whatever smiles upon them, in the beauties or in the sweet enjoyments of the present existence, is always "because of truth, and meekness, and justice." In short, if we consider how much of what is thought possession from its consisting of matter, has no real existence, but arises from the merest delusion and vanity, and how much of reality though esteemed imagination, because it is spirit, is often sacrificed to the regret of losing what is only imaginary, it appears evident that the innocent playful carelessness of youth, which, in a certain sense, the meek carried with them into all the occupations of life, enabling them to endure with the utmost cheerfulness, the vexations and losses which overwhelm the proud worldly race, must

have imparted a large portion of that earthly enjoyment which is described as their peculiar inheritance. To behold how Christians inherit the earth, we have only to visit any Catholic country, like the Tyrol or the small Cantons of Switzerland, or any of the great kingdoms, where the institutions and spirit of the ages of faith have not been destroyed: there men seem to live in a terrestrial paradise; while property is respected, every thing seems in common as far as relates to its enjoyment; the arts do not minister to the pleasures of the rich alone; they have no exclusive consolations; the poorest possess similar corresponding with their desires, whether arising from the same ravishing spectacle of beauteous nature, or from the same benignant exchange of kind and courteous greeting, or from entering the same sublime temples hallowed by common and most sacred rites, or from hearing alike the sweet and solemn tones of morning and evening bells which seem to blend earth with heaven, and to spiritualize the very material elements which they possess through every sense. To their meek and innocent hearts the earth is a garden of pleasure; and no storm of foul and bitter passions ever disturbs the serene composure with which they receive and enjoy the wonderful gifts of God. "Donum et pax est electis Dei." A Catholic state is wholly a supernatural condition in respect of happiness and abundance; it verifies the divine sentence. "Mansueti hæreditabunt terram: et delectabuntur in multitudine pacis *."

The blessedness of the meek in faithful ages may be considered in relation both to the material, external, and to the spiritual and interior possession of the earth which is their inheritance. With regard to the former, we shall survey the monuments erected by faith, and the various institutions which were directed to the development of temporal advantages; and in relation to the latter I shall attempt to show in what manner the earth and all things proceeding from it were made to minister to intellectual good, and to assist the cultivation of the spiritual nature; so that as in the last book our principal object was to prove how widely the spirit of meekness pervaded the society of Catholic states, in the pre-

* Ps. xxxvi.

sent we shall be chiefly occupied with demonstrating how that spirit received even literally its recompence in the fulfilment of the divine sentence.

In attempting to develope this view of the beatitude of the meek, our course to some may seem retrograde; but even for those fledged souls who desire to soar upon the eagle wings of heavenly meditation, it is well, from time to time, Antæus like, to rest upon the earth. I may perhaps be drawn into a variety of details, which will appear to some minds irrelevant and frivolous; for there are many who conceive that every idea relating to theological truth should be involved in a certain tone of severe and reserved language, and others profess to feel alarmed at whatever wears, in modern literature, the semblance of novelty; but after making every due allowance for the influence of the circumstances in which such persons are placed—for their opinions seem to be only the result of circumstance—there would remain sufficient encouragement for pursuing this argument, if one possessed but the ability to do it justice, in the single sentence of St. Augustin, where he says, "Utile est libros plurimos a pluribus fieri diverso stylo, etiam de quæstionibus eisdem; ut ad plurimos res ipsa perveniat ad alios sic, ad alios sic *."

The monuments with which faith covered the soil of Europe, belong to the history, not only of ecclesiastical, but also of civil architecture. Churches, monasteries, hospitals, oratories, crosses, and isolated towers, proclaim more obviously indeed the creative spirit of the religion of the meek ages; but these are not the only examples of its power.

> Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem,
> Tot congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis.

The Catholic Church fulfilled the poet's prediction—

> ——————— Populosque feroces
> Contundet, moresque viris et mœnia ponet.

As in missionary countries at the present day where the Catholic religion is preached, so in the first ages of the Church, the inhabitants of towns became Christians before the country peasants; and hence, for a long while,

* St. August. de Trinitate, L. I. c. 3. n. 5.

the term Pagani was used as synonymous with heathens. In proportion as the faith spread, the multiplication of towns proceeded; for the Christian religion is essentially social, and converts were excited, both by faith and charity, to congregate, as much as possible, for the worship of God in common, and for the exercise of beneficence, just as other men are induced to separate and disperse through infidelity and selfishness. Oratories and cells of retirement for devout persons, became therefore the kernel, as it were, of future communities, and many of the towns, and even cities of Europe, have no other origin.

Shortly after the death of saints it was usual to build an oratory or chapel, under their invocation, to which some devout men had brought their relics, or the garments which had touched their tombs. In time, houses were built round the chapel; and thus, gradually, a village was formed, bearing the name of that saint. The chapel then became a church, and a town was the final result. Thus arose in France the towns of St. Martin, St. Hilaire, St. Germain d'Auxerre, St. Remi, St. Medard, St. Sulpice, St. Brie; and similar instances in England must be familiar to every one *. When the monks of Lindisfarne first brought St. Cuthbert's body to Durham, it was a barbarous and rude place, with nothing but thorns and thick woods, where they first built a little church of wands and branches, wherein they did lay his body; whence the said church was afterwards called Bough Church †. In the thirteenth century, before the angelic visit, Loretto was a mountain covered with thick wood, and uninhabited. Saint-Merry is a village in the diocese of Paris, so called from a chapel which was built on the spot where St. Merry was detained for one day, either by sickness or fatigue, as he travelled from Autun to Paris, about the year 695; so that the village is a memorial of the event ‡. In the third century, Æonius, an evangelical missionary, having been martyred and buried on the mountain called St. Ion, in the diocese of Paris, the faithful erected an oratory on the spot, where, in course of time, such a number of devout people re-

* Lebeuf, Hist. du diocèse de Paris, Tom. IV. 253.
† The Ancient Rites and Monuments of Durham, p. 111.
‡ Lebeuf, Tom. XV. 362.

sorted, that a village was formed; and as this belonged to a certain rich knight, he fortified it on the top of the mountain, that the people might be secure from the attacks of the barbarians. Lebeuf thus explains the situation of St. Ion, on the mountain of that name *. Mabillon shows, that in this manner the Benedictine monks in Germany were the founders of cities, as well as the cultivators of the soil. Not only did the great monastery and town of Fulda rise up in the midst of forests that had been before pathless, but also Saxony beheld Corby and Brema. Thus too commenced Hersfeld and Fritislaria in Thuringia, Saltzburg, Frisinga and Eisted in Bavaria, St. Gall and Campidona in Helvetia, and numerous other towns throughout all Germany, as well as in other kingdoms where the Benedictine family extended †.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the propagation of Christianity in Prussia and Livonia was immediately followed by the erection of walled towns and cities, in places which had before been horrible deserts, or where the only habitations had been some wretched huts on the banks of rivers, composed of boughs and sods of earth ‡. Holm, Riga, Thorn, Elbing, Kulm, Christburg, Marienwerd, and Marienburg, were founded and built with stone by holy missionaries, and by the Teutonic order §. The last was built so late as in the year 1274. In the thirteenth century, Bishop Henry of Ermland, besides other works for the good of Prussia, founded Frauenburg, and gave it privileges. Bishop Siegfried of Samland, and Bishop Eberhard of Ermland, converted barren wastes into fruitful fields. In one year the left bank of the Weichsel saw the rise of three new cities ||. Lithuania, which had been a vast wilderness of wood and marsh, over which wandered a wild and ferocious population, became now covered with towns and villages. Prussia itself possessed no city before the arrival of the Teutonic knights. The manners of a city life were wholly unknown to the ancient inhabitants: as in Germany of old, these savage sons of nature had neither walls nor towers. It was the desire of living under the

* Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. X. 252.
† Præfat. in II. Sæcul. Benedict. § 5.
‡ Procop. Riga Histor. Goth. 339.
§ Voigt. Geschichte Preussens. || Voigt. IV. 138.

just and free government of the Teutonic order, which was wholly ecclesiastical, that induced multitudes of Germans, in the thirteenth century, during a season of scarcity, to pass into Prussia to inhabit the new cities, which had been founded there in the desert. The bishops of Prussia testified to the college of cardinals, that the Teutonic brothers administered the public affairs with such justice, discipline, and peace, that innumerable people, from diverse nations, passed into their colonies, desiring to live under their rule *. Parish Churches were generally to villages what monasteries and cathedrals were to great cities—the centre and bond of their rise and progress. The ancient capitals, indeed, were generally allowed to convey the right of pre-eminence to their churches; and in the great council of Nice, which regulated the rights and jurisdiction of the chief bishopricks of Christendom, these ancient and primitive customs were strictly maintained †. But after the overthrow of the Roman empire, and in the multiplied divisions of territory which ensued, it was the state which looked to the church for the site of capitals; and the residence of a bishop or the existence of a great monastery, were often the preservation of the rights of the ancient cities, to which they owed their being chosen as the seats of the new government. The social elements which existed in every converted nation were highly favourable to the increase, not only of towns, but even of capitals; for, independent of the political circumstances of the world, it was natural that cities which acquired such extreme importance from the devotion of the people, should be invested with a corresponding dignity in relation to the civil power. However, perhaps it would be more correct to say, that the capitals were not allowed then to assume that exclusive importance which they at present possess. The influence of religion was too universal for any one city to become like Rome, in heathen, or like Paris or London, in our times. The church was the attraction and point of union; and therefore Canterbury, and York, and Winchester, and Salisbury, and many other cities of England, were as much desired as places of residence as the metropolis itself, although the presence of

* Voigt. IV. 270.

† Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, Tom. V. c. 5.

the court drew there the attendance of a certain number of persons, whose duties connected them with it. Had Rome been Christian at the fall of Veii, she would not have deemed the subsistence of that city, even if it were inhabited by Romans, and possessing elective magistrates of its own, as endangering the unity of the republic. In point of construction too, as well as in their customs and government, the provincial towns of Christendom did not resemble those of modern times, nor the old Roman colonies, miniature likenesses of the capital*. Each had often a style of architecture, as well as municipal laws, peculiar to it; and thus the charm of variety was added to the advantages of a maternal administration.

It has been remarked by Baron Cuvier, in his Lectures on the History of Natural Philosophy, as a circumstance of the middle ages which was favourable to learning and to the cultivation of minds, that centres of government were then multiplied; for in the vast number of small states which then existed, each capital became a source of real civilization, the influence of which was concentrated within moderate limits. In vast empires, letters and sciences are necessarily drawn to one seat of government, and the distant provinces are left in comparative destitution. The modern systems of empire, are, in fact, in this respect, heathen, in the same manner as those of the middle ages indicated the influence of the philosophy and of the manners of Christians. I am aware, indeed, that an exclusive acquaintance with the religion of the modern sects may render the whole of this statement an extraordinary and untenable proposition to the ears of many; these opinions, it is true, tend to separate men, instead of to unite them, or at the most, they leave them free to follow the caprice of their disposition, or the condition of their birth. A life in community or in towns is not required where religious worship, to which no obligation is attached, consists in attendance only on the Sunday, and at an advanced hour of the day; but the Catholic religion, by the celebration of its consoling mysteries, both attractive and obligatory, draws men together in multitudes, who, merely for the sake of fulfilling the duties or desires of their super-

* Aul. Gellius, XVI. 13.

natural life, are induced to establish themselves in places that furnish the means; and hence, no argument can be drawn against this view of the rise and progress of Christian cities, from observing the wants and manners of the present age. Indeed, that this was the process in the rise or augmentation of the Christian towns, is a fact which is attested by history. Paris, in the beginning of the third dynasty, being confined to the island in the Seine, and there being four abbeys on both sides, at equal distances from it, those of St. Laurence, St. Geneviève, St. Germain-des-Près, and St. Germain l'Auxerrois, each surrounded with the houses of persons who sought the neighbourhood of the abbey, the junction of these four villages formed the future enclosure of the capital *. The suburbs of most cities were formed by the devotion of people who chose to fix their habitations near the convents and hospitals, which stood originally without the gates. The great abbey of St. Claude in Franche-Comte, gave rise to a considerable town built about it. In the fifth century, St. Briget, having chiefly resided in her monastery at Kildare, the reputation of her sanctity and miracles made that place so renowned, and so much frequented, that the many buildings erected about the convent, during her life, formed a town, which in process of time grew to be so considerable, as to have the episcopal see placed there.

Religion had always first possession. Freyburg in Switzerland was built in the twelfth century, by Bertholde Duke of Zaehringen; but before his time there was there a solitary castle with a chapel on the rock over the Sarine, in the midst of a vast forest. A multitude of towns and villages retained the name of what had originally given them birth. Such as Lachapelle, Abbeville, Monasteriolum, Little Monastery, which became Montreuil, of which there are so many in France, and one in Ireland, Monastereven; and even when the origin was different, the piety of these ages desired that the very name of cities should be a homage to religion. When it was proposed that the new city, which was built on the ruins of the Christian camp before the walls of Grenada, should be called by the name of Isabella, so dear to the army and to the nation, that devout princess, call-

* De St. Victor. Tableau de Paris, Tom. I. 83.

ing to mind the holy cause in which it was erected, gave it the name of Santa Fé, or the city of the holy faith; and it remains to this day a monument of the piety and glory of the Catholic sovereigns. The custom began in the East with the religious orders of knighthood, and it was extended to the north by the Teutonic order, of giving holy names to cities newly erected *: thus as the clergy and people celebrated a devout festival, and deposited a shrine of relics in a chapel, was the town newly recovered from the Lithuanians solemnly named Christmemel, in honour of the holy Saviour †. From these, then, and many other similar facts, which the reading and observation of each person will easily suggest, it will be seen with what justice we may apply to the Catholic religion those celebrated words of the Roman orator, which were only true on his tongue so long as they referred merely to the great original traditions and revealed principles, of which the full development was reserved for Christian ages. "O vitæ dux! o virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum! tu urbes peperisti; tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitæ convocasti; tu magistra morum et disciplinæ fuisti: ad te confugimus; à te opem petimus; tibi nos, ut antea magna ex parte, sic nunc penitus, totosque tradimus. Est autem unus dies bene et ex præceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati anteponendus. Cujus igitur potius opibus utamur quam tuis? quæ et vitæ tranquillitatem largita nobis es, et terrorem mortis sustulisti ‡."

The Catholic religion not only founded and preserved cities and towns, but also gave a new importance to those which she found existing, and to many imparted a renown which from henceforth cannot be separated from her own eternal destiny: for although wherever the Catholic religion has been withdrawn, the material glory, unless preserved by very extraordinary local circumstances, has passed away, and often been followed by utter ruin and desolation, still to many the fame, grandeur, and interest cannot be said to have perished; since even in those streets which are now deserted, as those we read about in ancient times, of Gabii and Fidenae, their intellectual greatness stands like a monument for

* Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, II. 583.
† Ib. IV. 300. ‡ Tuscul. V. 2.

everlasting ages and books, and the solemn offices of the universal church will make it in some sense even to the eye of men as durable as the world. But this refers only to those whom learning makes conversant with the past. To the generality of men, nothing is more certain than that these cities are not what they once were: if any one should retain that superstitious scruple which restrained the ancients from ever affirming that any thing had perished, he may adopt, with regard to them, Virgil's expression, and say,

——— fuit Ilium et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum!

To seek proof of this, we have not to look to a distance. Witness any of our great ecclesiastical cities; for example, Canterbury, and compare its former with its present condition. In the ages of faith, men of learning, artists, saints, and kings used to repair thither with a multitude of devout pilgrims from all parts of the world: and without an inducement from recollection or from observation of the past, who would now travel from a distance to visit it, unless some farmer, who desired to sell the produce of his hop ground? If any others there should be, anxious to repair thither, methinks they are so few that we might say of them with Dante, "a little stuff would furnish out their cloaks." Formerly, the men of learning and sanctity, and of intellectual greatness, all over Europe, felt an interest in what passed at Canterbury. Under St. Theodore, and for many ages afterwards, it gave penitential laws to almost all the churches of the West. The site of its various monuments was known, studied, and explained by scholars in Italy, Spain, and France. Chardon, a Benedictine in France speaks of the situation of a little humble church of St. Martin in the suburbs, as if he were describing the most familiar monument in his native town. What could be said of Canterbury at present, excepting that it resembles every other provincial city in England? and assuredly that is not a description which is calculated to sanction the idea that it is intimately connected with the fine arts, with learning, with sanctity, and with every kind of intellectual interest which should endear it to the most distant members of the Christian family. Had England continued in communion with the Catho-

lic church, it is possible that Birmingham and Manchester might not have attained to their present character, for merciless inhuman industry would not have been tolerated; but York, and Winchester, and Canterbury, and Exeter, and Salisbury, and other cities of the same type, would have possessed some degree of the interest attached to Milan, Verona, Bologna, and even Florence. In another way also religion gave celebrity to places, for the meekness which left men of the greatest genius and learning without any other distinction but that of the place of their birth or residence, the name of which was attached to that which they had received in baptism, was an occasion of rendering almost every little town celebrated. Thus Malmesbury triumphed in her William; Tours in her Gregory; Blois in her Louis; St. Denis in her nameless Monk; Verona in her Zeno; Pisa in her Peter; Exeter in her Joseph; Ramsey in her Monk; Huntingdon in her Henry; Salisbury in her John.

Anquetil says in the Introduction to his History of Rheims, that "the history of some cities may be as curious as that of great states." Poncius Cato, one of the most learned of the Romans, collected accurately the origin of the Italian cities, as did Terentius Varro, and Antiochus, the Syracusan, and many others. Their motives in collecting such materials were different indeed from those which made Christian writers feel so deep an interest in the antiquity of their cities, but yet there were some grounds in common between them. Dionysius Halicarnassus says of the reasons which induced him to write upon the antiquities of Rome, "It seemed right that so illustrious a history should not be left to silence; for the importance of such a work would be great; since by these means brave men, who have fulfilled their fate, will gain an immortal glory, and the men of this age and of all future times will be led to imitate the example of these god-like men in adopting, not the sweetest and most easy, but the most generous and honourable life, resolving to think highly of themselves on account of such a noble origin, and never to commit any action unworthy of their ancestors *." The old French histories of the different cities of France, form

* Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I.

a department of literature highly curious, and in every respect remarkable; and, indeed if on general grounds, as the wise critic of heathen antiquities observes, the histories of illustrious cities ought not to be written hastily and rashly, but with the utmost diligence and caution *, they ought to be more peculiarly studied in our own times, because cities and churches are now described in books elaborately executed, but composed by the most audacious triflers, who write, as the present holy father of the faithful says, "what they find, not what they understand," and by the most inveterate enemies of the religion of truth. With respect to the old local historians, we find that they generally passed over the heathen antiquities of their cities, though, like Lyons, they may have been successively Celtic, Greek, and Roman: they confine their researches to the commencement of the Christian annals, as it was to them they referred when they wished to exhibit their trophies of truly honourable renown. The cities of Italy and France could boast of the names of apostolic men, who had preached the faith in the first century, and founded episcopal sees in which the regular succession of pontiffs had never been interrupted. Thus St. Apollinare, was revered at Ravenna; St. Savinian, at Sens; St. Sixtus, at Rheims; St. Potentian, at Troyes; St. Martial, at Limoges; St. Trophime, at Arles; St. Julien, at Mans; St. Crescens, at Vienne; St. Memme, at Châlons: St. Ursin, at Bourges; St. Austremoine, at Clermont in Auvergne; St. Eutropius, at Xaintes; St. Frout, at Perigueux; St. Irenæus, at Lyons. It was considered the highest glory of a city or of a province to have produced a number of saints. Thus the chronicle of St Riquier says, "while all the world rejoices in being redeemed by the descent and incarnation of the only Son of God, and the common deliverance gives rise to a common exultation, it is known to be the peculiar joy of some places that they possessed men who, from their sanctity and learning deserved the title of Fathers, and with this privilege our province is indeed richly endowed †." Even little villages by the way side acquired sometimes great celebrity

* Dionysii Halicar. Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I.

† Chronicon Centulensis sive Richarii, Lib. IV. c. 1. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IV.

and importance from having given birth to saints. Witness Nanterre, which produced St. Geneviève, and Nogent in Champagne, where St. Vinebauld was born.

The Prologue to the Life of St. Marcellin, Bishop of Embrun in the sixth century, contains the following passage: "By the liberality of Christ, the combats of illustrious martyrs, and the praises of blessed confessors have filled the world to such a degree, that almost every city can boast of having for patrons martyrs born within its walls."—"I take a pleasure," continues that ancient writer, "in seeking every where the palms of these glorious champions; and I often travel about with this design, inquiring of the inhabitants respecting them, and addressing myself to the oldest men, who are often unanimous in their accounts: with such materials I then transmit their memory to future ages." St. Ceraune, Bishop of Paris in the seventh century, devoted his life to this employment: he wrote to all the clerks whom he supposed were instructed in the traditions of their country, praying them to collect for him this kind of information. Many similar examples may be found in Gaul, from the fourth to the tenth century. These were often the materials used in the great collection of the Bollandists. The spirit of all this traditionary lore is well expressed in the inscription which has been placed over the gate of the subterranean church in Cremona's Cathedral, which is to this effect: "Your holy fellow citizens here have altars for tombs. Enter and revere the ashes of those whose examples you will imitate." But in speaking of the new interest which the ancient cities of the world acquired with their adoption of the Christian faith, who has not already been transported in imagination to Rome—to that city, justly called eternal, not because her heathen glories have been perpetuated, but on account of her saintly lustre and divine pre-eminence, which, by a mysterious law of heaven has been associated inseparably with the interests and the destiny of souls, which are themselves immortal. It is not to Rome, triumphant, to Rome, queen of the world, that our mind would now revert, but, as Torquato Tasso says, in his reply to Plutarch, it is to Rome, restored by the virtue of one and of many most holy Pontiffs, to Rome become humble from being proud, pacific from being warlike, and as it were celestial from being earthly, to Rome, boasting not so

much of her former greatness as of the present things which inspire her with joy *. Let us go back to the age of this wondrous transition, and behold a scene nobly described by the author of the Martyrs. "Whence come these immense armies? who are these people, hastening from the four regions of the earth? the scourge of God conducts them: their horses are lighter than leopards: they gather troops of captives as mountains of sand. What mean these kings clothed in the skins of beasts, who slay their prisoners round the cities which they have besieged? All come from the desert of a fearful land: all march towards the new Babylon. Art thou fallen, queen of cities? Is thy capitol buried in the dust? How desert are thy plains! what a solitude around thee! But, O astonishing prodigy! the cross appears in the midst of this whirlwind of dust! it rises over Rome risen from ruins; it marks all its edifices; the children of the Apostles occupy the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars: the porticos where the death of the Christians was vowed, are changed into pious cloisters, and penitence now dwells where before reigned triumphant crime †." "I also love Rome," says St. Chrysostom, "and though I might praise it for its greatness, its antiquity, its beauty, its multitude of inhabitants, its empire, its riches, its warlike fame; yet omitting all these things, on this account alone I proclaim it blessed, because Paul, while alive, was so affectionate towards it, preached to it, and lastly ended his life within it, whose holy body it possesses; and therefore is this city illustrious more than all others. The sun shines not with such splendour in the heavens as this city of the Romans casting forth beams from these resplendent bodies of Peter and Paul. Consider it, and shudder at the spectacle which Rome will behold; namely, Paul suddenly from that shrine, with Peter, rising to meet the Lord in the air! What a rose will Rome then send to Christ; with what two crowns is this city adorned: truly I admire this city, not on account of the abundance of gold, not on account of columns, nor any other object of beauty, but on account of these columns of the Church ‡."

* Torquato Tasso Risposta di Roma a Plutarco.

† Les Martyrs, Liv. XI.

‡ St. Chrysost. Serm. XXXII. in Moral Exhort.

In a lower degree some associations of a kindred nature belonged to almost every city, for there was hardly one which could not boast of having some martyr or holy confessor connected with its history. Vienna rejoiced in her St. Stephen, Brussels in her St. Gudule, Madrid in her St. Isidore, Paris in her St. Denis, St. Germain, and St. Geneviève, Lyons in her St. Irenæus, Poitiers in her St. Hilary, Limoges in her St. Martial, Sens in her St. Savinien, St. Columbus, St. Loup, Milan in her St. Ambrose, Tours in her St. Martin, Arles in her St. Cesareus. The circumstance of any person of eminent sanctity residing within a city was enough to make it celebrated; his death was in one sense a public calamity, though in another, religion converted it into a higher consolation, as in the instance when St. John of God was dying in Granada, and he gave the city his dying benediction by order of the archbishop; or as when their bodies were preserved as treasures, and their prayers invoked as affectionate intercessors for their fellow-citizens. At other places, though men could refer to saints among their own citizens, yet they chose to invoke the prayers of blessed spirits who had earlier passed upon the earth. Such were Florence and Genoa, of the former of which Dante says,

> " In that city I dwelt,
> Which for the Baptist her first patron chang'd."

Such too was Parma, which chose St. Thomas for one of its protectors on account of having been delivered from its enemies on his festival. Lawful, useful, and laudable was known to be this invocation of holy patrons. Lot prayed to the angels, and obtained that the city of Segor should not be destroyed by fire from heaven*. Jacob asked and obtained a blessing from the angel†. Moses besought God to remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, his servants‡. The three children in the furnace implored his mercy for the sake of Abraham and Isaac and Israel§; and God declared He would protect that city, and would save it, for the sake of David his servant ‖.

With respect to the new character assumed by cities, it is worthy of remark that Petrarch, though speaking

* Gen. xxxiii. † Id. xlviii. ‡ Exod. xxxiii.
§ Dan. iii. ‖ Reg. xix.

with the pride of an old Roman, yet in contrasting the ancient with the actual state of Cologne, is obliged to give the preference to the latter. "I have beheld the capitol," he says, "an image of our own, excepting that instead of the senate assembling there to take counsel upon peace and war, there are inhabiting it beautiful youths and holy virgins, who sing nocturnal lauds to God with eternal concord. There one heard the noise of wheels and arms, and the groans of captives; here one finds rest and joy, and the voices of the cheerful; there, in short, moves a warlike, and here a pacific conqueror*."

To religion must be ascribed not only the rise and preservation of cities, but also many peculiarities of their structure, and by far the greatest portion of their beauty. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that in three things he chiefly beheld the magnificence of Rome, in the aqueducts, the great roads, and the sewers; all monuments designed to promote material interest, none connected with mind and with spirit for the benefit of the soul. In Christian Rome, and in a catholic city, the cloaca maxima are but little regarded: which circumstance ought not to be a surprise to the moderns, since even the heathen philosophers themselves acknowledged that, as Pliny says, "Oportet mortalibus utilitatibus æternas anteferre †." It was not merely public utility, as he says, that was to be preferred to private, but eternal to temporal, and therefore it ought not to be an offence to philosophers when they find that churches and monasteries had pre-eminence over docks and sewers. The unhappy heathens, indeed, found within their cities more objects to proclaim national glory, or the power of a selfish superstition than resources even against their temporal calamities. In that celebrated forum they had three arches of triumph, temples to Fortune, and columns to princes, but they had never heard there of the via della consolazione. If with modern cities there should be any poetry connected, it is only as with the city of the Phœnicians, on entering which Ulysses wondered at the harbours, docks, and ships, the market places and public halls, the long walls and lofty bulwarks of defence, wondrous to behold ‡. The modern philosophy has in

* Epist. Fam. Lib. I. 4. † Epist. Lib. VII. 18.
‡ Od. VII. 43.

this manner paganized the very structure of cities; though, indeed, Juvenal pays a compliment to the Romans at the period of their greatest corruption, which could not be extended to ourselves, for he tells them that they had erected no temples to money. But in the middle ages some image or emblem of religion was always the first and most striking object to excite the admiration of a stranger. In the fourteenth century men could not begin to build, even that lofty tower at the public palace of Sienna, without placing a marble chapel at its base; and even the material monuments of cities were spiritualized, and in some way or other connected with the intellectual and immortal nature. A striking instance of this may be witnessed in a certain town of the Tyrol, where one sees a fountain surmounted by an image of our Saviour; the stream of water issues from the wound in his adorable side, and at the foot is this inscription, "O all ye who thirst, come to the fountain of life," at once supplying the temporal wants of the people, and under this beautiful emblem affording a most instructive Christian lesson. So again the author of the "Calendrier des Bergeres," which was printed in 1499, in enumerating the praises of the city of Paris, begins with its schools of theology and arts:

> O Paris, souveraine et digne
> Source de science divine
> Comme saincte théologie.

And he says that its material grandeur consists in its beautiful churches, its vast cemetery of the Holy Innocents, its great bridge, Notre Dame, and its Hostel Dieu*.

In fact, in the cities of the middle ages, there were no monuments of decoration to be seen which corresponded with the heathen philosophy, no pantheons, columns, statues of kings, or triumphal arches; or, as at Rome, such remains of pagan grandeur were sanctified and converted into Christian monuments, for purposes analogous to the truths of the holy wisdom. Thus at Rome, the monuments of Egyptian superstition are made to pay homage to the Christian church. The solar obelisk erected at Heliopolis by Psammiticus I., king of Egypt, which had been brought to Rome by Augustus, is now

* Gouget, Bibliotheque Francaise, Tom. X. p. 189.

near the church of St. Lorenzo, in Lucina. The immense obelisk transported from the ruins of Thebes, in High Egypt, stands in the place of St. John Lateran. That which was transported to Rome by Caligula, and described by Pliny, is in the front of St. Peter's, and bears an inscription on the base, which fills with tears of admiration the eyes of the devout stranger.

Wonderfully is the power of religion developed there in converting the most loathsome monuments of crime and error into objects that are gazed upon with devout reverence. Such is that stair-case of the Hall of Pilate, which every Christian on visiting the Basilica of St. John Lateran ascends upon his knees; such that colosseum that once used to flow with the blood of martyrs, which is now a place of prayer and holy contemplation; such that pagan portico, which now leads to some church of the living God; such are those columns erected to commemorate the triumph of worldly conquerors, which are now surmounted with images of apostles; such those obelisks once dedicated to an impure superstition, which now sustain the cross of Christ; such that Mamertine and Tullian prison in the forum, built by Ancus Martius and Servius Tullius, which heard the expiring groans of Jugurtha, and which is now a sanctuary, crowded incessantly by faithful Christians, who go there to venerate the prison which confined St. Peter and St. Paul.

At Aosta again, the triumphal arch which was built by Augustus on subduing the inhabitants of that valley, is surmounted with a crucifix, which is said to have been there ever since the first conversion of the city to christianity; but in no instance did Christians in the ages of faith erect such monuments. When Pope Adrian VI., indeed, entered Rome, a triumphal arch was constructing at Porta Portuense for his reception, but he ordered the work to be interrupted, saying, "These were the pomps of heathenism." The only trophies in Christian cities were suitable to the victory which overcometh the world, and, like that colossal image at Arona, in honour of the best sort of conquerors. The first triumphal arches in Paris to commemorate temporal conquests were erected in 1670, when the walls were demolished *.

The first statue erected to a king of France was that

* De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. III. 439.

of Henry IV. on the Pont-neuf; and Portugal had erected no statue of any of her monarchs, until the Sophist Pombal awarded this honour to King Joseph the First, when he placed a portrait of himself in bronze on the front of the pedestal. During the middle ages, if a statue of a king were made it was to be placed upon his tomb, or on the portal of some church, or over the gates of some hospital or college, which he had founded. Even the ancients never formed a statue for a public square, like that of Louis XIV. in the Place of Victory, which seems a personification of frivolity and egotism. The statue of himself which Constantine erected in Rome, after his victory over Maxentius, was in fact a trophy of religion, for it represented him holding a cross in his right hand; and the inscription which was placed under it testified that by that salutary sign he had delivered the ancient city from the yoke of a tyrant, and had restored the senate and people of Rome to their former dignity and greatness. The columns of modern cities date from the protestant scholars commemorating, in language worthy of a nobler cause, the fanaticism of heresy in England; those of France have been erected in days subsequent to the revolution.

Thus our very buildings and monuments bear witness to that tendency towards pagan opinions relative to the motives of human action, which has been constantly on the increase since the sixteenth century, till we have lived to see it arrive at a complete and open profession of idolatry, in the establishment of a pantheon in the frivolous and guilty city. It was indeed natural that the honour of Apotheosis should be first revived in that land where there would be always a supply of men vain enough to desire it. St. Jerome said long ago, in writing to a heretic of Gaul, "The world is full of Centaurs and Sirens, Ululas and Onocrataluses, Leviathans and Behemoths. There is the Erimanthian boar and the Nemean lion, the Cacus of Virgil, and the Gorgon of Spain. Gaul alone has no monsters, but abounds with eloquent and brave men*." But if Christian cities wanted these impure ornaments of worldly triumph, they were not without objects of a meek and admirable beauty peculiarly their own.

Theodoret, in his life of St. Simeon Stylites, testifies

* Epist. XXXVIII.

that every where in Rome before the entrance of shops stood an image of that saint whom they invoked as a guardian; and the fathers of the second Council of Nice recommended the erection of holy images and paintings on the public ways, according, as they said, to the ancient pious custom. In all cities, at the corners of streets, and in the markets amidst the busy crowd and piles of objects for sale, you beheld the gracious image of our blessed Lady, holding the divine child enfolded in her arms. The laborious people occupied amidst these tumultuous scenes, from time to time, would turn their eyes to this benignant form, and feel fresh strength to support their various trials. The sweetest flowers of the season are placed, from time to time, by pious hands at its feet, while garlands of every hue are suspended over it and across the public ways. The same image smiled upon the poor from the portals of palaces, and seemed to encourage the timid to pass beyond the proud threshold of the more powerful citizens. Thus, in the court of the old Hotel of Harcourt, in the street of La Harpe, at Paris, as also in that of the Hotel de Cluny, in the street of the Mathurins, you see over the small gothic door which led to the principal apartments, a niche richly decorated to contain the image of our Lady. Monteil reckons among the multitude of little services daily rendered by the people of Paris to one another, "the indication of images in the streets or of the signs of houses, for almost every private house was then distinguished by a sign which generally represented the patron of the family *." At the present day a walk through Oxford or Gloucester, if the eyes be kept fixed upon the buildings of ancient times, is like reading an old book full of majesty and holiness. Under the images of our Lady, which are in nearly every corner of the solemn and almost cloistral streets of Bologna, you observe sentences inscribed from the holy Scriptures, teaching the way of a blessed life and death. Upon a wall at Padua, which contains the monument of Rolando de Placiola, you read these divine lines:—

Præter amare Deum, cum cætera deleat ætas,
Hic sere, quod plena postmodo falce metas.

* Monteil, Hist. des France, Tom. IV. 377.

Entering Stia, a small town among the Apennines, with the ruins of an old castle above it, I saw a little chapel at the end of the bridge, on which was an inscription to this effect: "Here is the bridge to enter Stia, and here is the chapel of our blessed Lady. May it prove to us a bridge to heaven." At Lucern, there is a little chapel in which is a lamp ever burning over that pier of the bridge, which one might fear every moment was going to be swept away by the fury of the flood which swells and rages round it, in a remarkable manner. At St. Maurice, there is an oratory on the great arch over the Rhone; at Dresden, the bridge is lined with images of saints; and at Prague the Moldau still beholds its martyr as if looking down gratefully upon the waters which had given him the blessed palm. Walking one night in Florence, I saw a great light upon a bridge over the Arno: it was from a little oratory of our Lady where three priests and some children were singing nocturns before an illuminated altar. Then, in order that passengers in the night may be reminded of heavenly things, and our blessed Lady honoured in the night, you behold the lamps before her image which are lighted as the sun goes down. In fact, the streets of cities derived their light from the number of these lamps which burned before the images of our Lady, or the paintings of saints *. Tiek beautifully avails himself of these in representing one who has overheard a horrible plot arranged in a street at midnight before an image of our Lady; when the wretches had moved away, this person comes forth from the dark niche, shuddering and lifts his looks to the image and says, "Before thine eyes, thou mild and blessed one, are these miscreants audaciously holding their market and trafficking in their infernal drugs. But as thou embracest thy child with thy love, so doth heavenly love encircle us all with its protecting arms; we feel their touch; and our poor hearts beat joyously and tremulously toward a greater heart that will never forsake us." The whole of the fronts of houses exhibited beautiful carvings of some sacred subjects, of some symbolical device, or interesting local tradition, or else of grotesque figures, to inspire gaiety. The windows were richly ornamented, and the patron of the family appeared every

* Monteil.

where. On the houses in Sarnen you see painted the history of the holy hermit Nicholas of the Rock, whose prayers once saved that town from the flames. At Paris, the celebrated Nicolas Flamel only followed the custom of that age in adorning the exterior walls of his house with images of devotion, and with pious inscriptions *. This custom is still observed in many Catholic countries, where you read continually, "Glory be to God alone. Blessed be God." The inmost thought of the possessor seems to be often expressed by an inscription. Over the door of one house, on which a crucifixion was painted, I read, "Jesus amor meus crucifixus est." Sometimes the inscription and device were mysterious, like that dove with an olive branch represented on the gate of Marengo at Pavia, under which a treble woe is denounced against its enemies †. At others, they were intended to impart to men some important council respecting the affairs of life. Catholic sentiment was most ingenious in this respect. In the year 1445, a citizen of Milan, Thomas de Caponago, placed an inscription at the foot of the staircase which leads to the tribunals of justice to warn the passengers from law suits. "In controversiis causarum corporales inimicitiæ oriuntur, fit amissio expensarum, labor animi exercetur, corpus quotidie fatigatur, multa et inhonesta crimina inde consequuntur, bona et utilia opera postponuntur." Such was the inscription. On approaching Italy from every side, we find the exterior walls of the inns and other houses adorned with frescos representing generally the Annunciation or the Nativity, executed in the style of the miniatures in the old illuminated prayer books, from which one might suppose they had been copied, having caught all that delicate grace and simplicity which captivate us in the works of the middle ages. Antiquity admired those paintings, with which the Athenians decorated the walls of their porticos. Pausanius relates that the exploits of that people were represented on the Pœcilia at Athens; and the moderns speak of the moral advantage resulting from the erection of monuments to great men that have been ornaments to their country;

* Hist. Critique de Nicolas Flamel et de Pernelle sa Femme, p. 11.

† Flavia Papia Sacra del P. Ghisoni Prolog.

but how much lovelier, and cheering, and instructive to the eye of humanity are these peaceful trophies on the walls of Christian cities in which the barbarous principle of national glory is excluded, and nothing commemorated but what should be dear to the affections and inestimable in the judgment of the universal race of men? It must be admitted that devotion and reverence of the olden time contributed to irregularity of structure. Streets were made to bend to the position of churches, and as churches were generally built in the direction of east and west, the continuity of streets was often broken by their erection; for no one ever thought then that temples should be made to bend to the convenience of a mechanic's warehouse. The site and direction of churches were never determined by any obstacle from profane buildings *. In the year 846, while the Cathedral of Rheims was rebuilding, Charles-le-Chauve gave permission to Archbishop Hincmar to change, and to suppress the adjacent streets which might interfere with its convenience or decoration †. It may be observed that these crooked winding streets of our ancient cities are more favourable to picturesque effect than the regularity of the ancient Thurian or Ionian streets, mathematically arranged at right angles to each other like those of some modern cities. The bends and windings contributed even to the convenience of the passengers; for they broke the rays of the sun, and force of the wind, and served as a protection against both heat and cold. When the crookedness and narrowness of the streets of Rome had been remedied after the fire under Nero, it was found that the broad straight streets were injurious to health ‡, and Niebuhr remarks that the quarter of the city which was erected in the middle ages with the same disregard of regularity as at the rebuilding after the departure of the Gauls, is at the present day, much more healthy than those which have wide regular streets running through them; and he considers the contrary opinion of Aristotle respecting the cities of Greece to be a mere theoretical assumption §. Viewed from a distance

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. chap. 4.
† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheim, Lib. I. p. 115.
‡ Tacitus, Ann. XV. 43.
§ Polit. VII. 2.

the appearance of the ancient Christian cities was full of indescribable majesty. How grand is the effect produced by those stupendous towers at Florence, raised by Giotto and Arnolpho di Lapo, the former encrusted with coloured marbles to the summit, the masterpiece of that famous architect and painter, as he is styled on his epitaph which is within the church, composed by Angelus Politian, the latter gothic, and from its height and proportion, a prodigy of art! The tall and slender towers which rise above the gothic palaces of Sienna, and those of Asinelli and Garisendi at Bologna, leaning in such strange disorder, which have furnished images to Dante*, are the admiration of every beholder. Benjamin of Navarre reckoned ten thousand towers in Pisa. On one occasion one hundred and forty towers were demolished in Rome. Asti could boast of one hundred. Writers of the twelfth century speak with admiration of the towers of Pavia, which, according to Breventano, amounted in all to five hundred and twenty-five. One of these, erected in honour of the learned Giasone del Maino, stood reversed upon the cone; and was destroyed through stupid timidity, in the last century, when it was too late discovered that it had been built with such skill that it might have stood for many ages †. The towers of Ravenna are round, and remind one forcibly of those so celebrated in Ireland, with the exception of the huge Torre del Publico, which now stoops as if from age, and of which no one knows the origin and founder. According to Bettinelli it was in the eleventh century that the rage for building towers in cities prevailed; those over private houses were generally for ornament and pomp ‡; on those of churches and palaces of justice were placed those curious clocks, like that on the tower of the palace of Padua in the year 1344, which were the work of men who were philosophers and astronomers, like John and James Dondi, with whom Petrarch corresponded, of a family so renowned for these works, that it took the surname of "degli orologi." But to return to the towers, what a contrast now is here to the dull uniform and unbroken line over the cities of the moderns! In

* Infer. XXXI.

† La Torre del Pizzo in Giu. Pavia. 1832.

‡ Risorgimento d'Italia et Muratori, Tom. II. Antiquit. Ital.

London one can distinguish the Catholic and the Protestant city by the number of beautiful towers in the former, and the almost total absence of them in the latter, or the substitution of shapeless deformed masses: as in Genoa, where you behold the hideous forts built by Napoleon in the age of revolutions rising out of the midst of the beautiful palaces raised by the noble Genoese in the ages of meekness and faith. The situation, too, was often more favourable to devotion, and to the natural enjoyment of life, than to the desires of vanity or the wants of the effeminate. Towns were often called castles, being, like those which we see upon the Rhine, dependants upon a castle, and enclosed within its walls. Thus we have still Château-Thierri, Château-Goutier, Château-Landon, Château-Roux, and others. One might sometimes suppose that these Christian cities were built among wild rocks and mountains, from some religious and mysterious motive, suggested by the situation of Jerusalem, for the holy city was raised in a savage spot that it might be insulated on the mountains, to be free from the contagion of the earthly nations; and such a supposition would not be altogether groundless, if we bear in mind that as at Saltzbourg, monks were frequently the founders, and that a monastery had originally determined their site. But, be this as it may, our ancestors are to be admired for their choice of situation in the foundation of towns. Those picturesque cities encircled with crags, with their Ἐπιπολαὶ, such as Freybourg, Sion, and others, or those Etrurian bourgs which strike the pilgrim's eye at every step as he travels on between Florence and Sienna, and which have exactly the appearance of great castles rising over the woods, and crowning the summits of hills, may be a terror to the speculator in the transport of effects, but to a natural taste they are beyond all comparison preferable to those modern cities, extending beyond their original pleasant site upon the bank of rivers to spread over uniform plains, to which, perhaps, the beams of the sun can never penetrate through the clouds in which their innumerable manufactories envelope them, as the people and city of the Cimmerians are described.

ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι *.

* Od. XI. 15.

A city of this description is, to one accustomed to a city of the middle ages, what the gloomy forest was to Dante:

> Which to remember only, his dismay
> Renews, in bitterness not far from death *.

He would describe leaving it in the words of the same poet, where he speaks of "emerging from a dead vapour which had saddened his eyes and heart." Such were not the cities which the Catholic religion founded and inspired, which seemed almost to have been raised expressly for poets or for saints, for those who love meditation, and beauty, and peace. Such, to name but one, is Pisa, with its towers of white marble, its silent gothic streets, and its holy field of the dead. But where are there not examples, notwithstanding the rage of modern destroyers? When I had visited the churches of Genoa, many of which present an interior like a vision of paradise, as far as mind at the sight of material beauty can conceive primeval things, and then in the sweet hour of twilight, when the sun had set upon

> Those tall piles and sea-girt palaces,
> Whose porphyry pillars, and whose costly front,
> Fraught with the orient spoils of many marbles,
> Seem each a trophy of some mighty deed;

and I had ascended one of the towers of that noble city, and looked down upon it in quiet contemplation, (aspect indescribable, which filled my eyes with "pleasant tears,") and then when I heard the sweet chiming of the Angelus break forth, and observed suddenly how innumerable lights began to cast their beams, burning before images of our blessed Lady,—there was in all this so planet-like a music, an order, and variety,—there was over the whole such a sky of poetry, such beauty to inhale in the very forms of man's creation,—that I felt as if suddenly presented with a new view of the wonders of the human course; and it occurred to me, that a great and important problem remained to be solved connected with the destinies of our nature: for how are we to explain this fact, of which I have here the evidence before

* Hell. I.

me, that a religion which proposes only a future recompence, should yet put men in possession of so much that has affinity with supernal bliss? Yet the explanation is not difficult if we take into account the morality of the Catholic Church and its influence upon intelligences. When men are left to themselves and to their own miserable philosophy, all the energies of their noble natures are then directed to base ends, either to gratify their appetites, their love of sensual pleasure, their selfish pride, or love of personal and exclusive distinction. Abandoned to the pleasures of sense, they find in that dishonourable servitude a temporary source of satisfaction, sufficient, not indeed to give them peace, but to paralyse every generous and heroic effort. The active or creative spirit is either destroyed or misdirected to base and selfish ends; but when the principle of self-denial has once begun to operate, when the mind is restored and resuscitated by the vivifying spirit of Catholicism, all these energies, besides being strengthened, are employed in giving expression to their infinite desires, which have relation to beauty in its highest perfection. They seek no longer life to support

> By earth, nor its base metals, but by love,
> Wisdom, and virtue,———

and therefore their works resemble those of the Divine Architect, and bear testimony to the sublime and amazing record, that man was created after his image and endowed with capacities analogous. Their temples are each like a world coming forth from his plastic hand, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Their cities are so rich in beauteous forms, that they seem like the wondrous works of the Eternal Master, and the ancients would have believed that, as was affirmed of Athens, the gods themselves contended for their possession; or at least, that they were worthy of those who sought but one employment,—to celebrate them with a perpetual song *. In Rome, the utmost expression of beauty is seen at every step. The exquisite taste which is displayed in the disposition of works of art is no where else to be found. Rome, in-

* Hor. Carm. I. 7.

dependent of all associations, is doubtless the most splendid city in the world. Her churches, porticos, fountains, palaces, obelisks, and palmy villas, make her like some ideal city in the fancy of a poet. It is right, and unquestionably it is of necessary consequence, that the city of spirits, under the dominion of Intelligence and of the heavenly life, should be also that in which bodies and material forms approach the nearest to the essence of beauty, and are the farthest removed from all imperfection. Petrarch, in a letter to the Genoese, describes that state as it appeared in his youth. "Your country appeared a celestial paradise: such surely were the Elysian fields! What a beautiful object towards the sea! those towers which rose to heaven, those palaces where art excelled nature! those hills covered with cedars, vines, and olives! those houses of marble built under the rocks! those delicious retreats on the shore, where sand shines like gold, on which the foaming waves, dashing their crystal heads, attract the eyes of the pilot, and stop the motion of the rowers! Can we behold without admiration the more than mortal figures that inhabited your city? Those who entered it, thought they were in the temple of felicity and joy." Milton borrows one of his most beautiful similitudes from the appearance of such a city at the rising of the sun:—

> ——— As when a scout
> Through dark and desert ways, with peril gone
> All night, at last by break of cheerful dawn
> Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
> Which to his eye discovers unaware
> The goodly prospect of some foreign land
> First seen, or some renown'd metropolis,
> With glittering spires and pinnacles adorn'd,
> Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams.

A modern French writer (in a book of which I would conceal the title, as a man doth of some horrible thing), offers one admirable passage, in which he contrasts ancient Gothic Paris with the present capital, and shows the superior beauty of the former, appealing to all who have ever seen a gothic city—entire, complete, homogeneous—such as Nuremberg in Bavaria, Vittoria in Spain, or even the little specimens of Vitré in Bretagne and of Nordhausen in Prussia. "After all," he says, "since

the time of Louis XI. Paris has not increased much more than by a third part. It has certainly lost much more in beauty than it has gained in extent. Let one imagine himself looking down from the towers of Nôtre Dame upon Paris as it was formerly. The eye was at first confused with the mass of roofs, streets, bridges, spires, and belfreys. There was the lofty sharp gable, the turrets suspended at the angles of walls, the round walled tower of the dungeon, the square and decorated tower of the church; the great, the little, the massive, the aerial. The eyes were lost for a long time in the depth of this labyrinth, where was nothing which had not its originality, its reason, its genius, its beauty; nothing which did not owe somewhat to art, from the least house, painted and carved as to its external wood-work, and with its arched door and sloped stories, to the royal Louvre, which had then a colonnade of towers. After describing the multitude of beautiful and sublime edifices, churches, convents, colleges, palaces, hotels, and halls, which were distinguishable out of this mass of buildings, he concludes with observing, "This is nevertheless the city of which Voltaire has said, that 'before Louis XIV. it possessed only four fine monuments;' a sentence which proves, that a man may have a great genius, and comprehend nothing of an art in which he has not been initiated. Thus Moliere thought to pay a high compliment to Raphael and Michael Angelo, in calling them those Mignards of their age. Gothic Paris became first disfigured by the architectural paganism which was contemporary with Luther; then followed a succession of other styles till the Revolution, when a taste arose, Greek and Roman, which produced monuments that bore as much resemblance to the Coliseum or to the Parthenon, as the constitution of the year four did to the laws of Minos. This he calls the style Messidor. Then followed the style Napoleon, with its columns of bronze made with cannon, and, he might have added, with the bells of churches. In the modern styles, there is a total want of that presiding judgment which knew how to adapt the architecture of an edifice to its particular destination, and to the climate of the country. Thus an exchange is shown which might be a royal palace, a chamber of parliament, a town house, a college, a riding-school, an academy, a museum, a barrack, a

sepulchre, a temple, a theatre; and it has a flat Eastern roof, so that it must be swept and scraped in time of snow, as if it entered into the design of a roof, that it ought to be swept and scraped. Returning to the Gothic city of the fourteenth century, behold that surprising hedge of needles, of towers, and of belfreys, rising over the midst of the immense city, excepting where it is broken at the point of islands, and interrupted by the winding river. Cover it with the shades of night, and mark the strange play of light and shadow in this sombre labyrinth of edifices; cast over it a beam of moonlight, which may vaguely sketch and bring out the vast crown of towers with the thousand sharp angles of spires and turrets,—and then compare. And if you wish to receive an impression from the old city which the modern cannot give you, ascend some elevated point which commands the entire city, at the hour of sun-rise, on the morning of some festival, and assist at the awakening of the bells. At the same moment these thousand churches vibrate. At first it is a scattered sound, passing from one church to another, as when musicians give signs of being about to commence. Then suddenly see—for sometimes it would seem that the ear has also its sight—see rising at the same moment, as it were, a column of noise, like a smoke of harmony. At first the vibrations of each bell rises straight, pure, and as if isolated from one another in the splendid sky of the morning; then by degrees increasing, they melt into one, and are mixed and amalgamated in a magnificent concert. It is now only one mass of sonorous vibrations, disengaged unceasingly from innumerable towers, which floats, undulates, rebounds, and thunders over the city, and prolongs, far beyond the horizon, the deafening circle of its oscillations. And yet this sea of harmony is not a chaos. Vast and profound as it is, still it has not lost its transparency; you see winding apart each group of notes which escapes from the belfreys; you can follow the dialogue alternately grave and piercing, from the chime to the great bell; you see the octaves jump from one tower to another; you see them dart forth, winged, light and hissing from the silver bell, and fall broken and heavy from that of baser materials; you see the rich gammut which descends and remounts unceasingly

from the seven bells of one tower; you see dart through it the clear and rapid notes which make three or four luminous zigzag lines, and vanish like the lightning; below, it is the sharp and glassy chime of the abbey of St. Martin; on that side it is the deep low murmur of the Louvre, and on the other it is the royal volley of the palace, while from time to time, at equal intervals, the heavy tone of the belfrey of Notre Dame makes them all sparkle like the anvil under the hammer. Through the whole mass of sublime noise you see pass at intervals sounds of every form, from the low indistinct murmur to the sharp note of the Ave Maria, which explodes and sparkles like a shower of stars. Certes, this is an opera which deserves to be heard. The city seems to sing, as during the stillness of the night it had seemed to breathe. Lend an ear then to this chorus, which rises over the murmur of half a million of men, which mingles with the eternal lamentation of the stream, the infinite sighings of the wind wafted over the surrounding forests, which blend and soften what might have been too rough and piercing, and then say whether you know of any thing in the world more rich, more joyous, more golden, more resplendent than this tumult of chiming and tolling bells, than this furnace of music, than these ten thousand voices of brass, chaunting altogether within flutes of stone of the length of three hundred feet, than this city, which is only one orchestra, than this symphony, which is as loud as a tempest."

Of the churches and monasteries, which were the noblest, and generally, as at Paris, the most ancient of the Christian monuments in cities *, I shall speak hereafter: but besides these, the learned stranger was sure to meet with objects in most cities connected with ancient heroic or saintly fame; for religion stimulated men to preserve them with more than merely human care. Nothing is older in the history of men than the indications of a similar inclination to revere ancestral associations; so that the monuments have existed even where the fame had perished,—like those walls at the villa of Mecænas at Tivoli, of which antiquarians can only say, that they are an astonishment and an uncertain work,

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. XVIII.

opus incertum. Dionysius says that down to his time the Romans preserved one of the original houses of the companions of Romulus, when he lived among the swine-herds and cow-herds on the mountains, where their huts used to be made of wood and rushes, without any joining: he says that this one, which was preserved sacred, used to be called the House of Romulus; there were persons appointed to take care of it, and to see that nothing should be added to it for the sake of ornament, but if any part were destroyed by the injury of time or weather, it used to be carefully repaired and restored, as far as possible, to its original appearance *. Before the time of the Dorians, at Mycenæ were to be seen the Cyclopian Hall of Eurystheus, and the sumptuous palace of Agamemnon. Nevertheless Cicero was a witness that the most noble city of Greece, and once the most learned, knew not the monument of one of its most acute citizens until it was shown to them by a man of Arpinum †. But the old monuments in Christian cities were chiefly venerable from a pious sentiment, which made men revere whatever was connected with the friends of God in former times, and there were more certain grounds than the ancients possessed for determining their authenticity, because the ecclesiastical records had been constantly preserved from the first ages in the capitals of each diocese and in the monasteries. When the Abbé Lebeuf was employed in composing his history of the diocese of Paris, he found that the country curates were able to supply him with much local antiquarian information that was highly interesting. It appears that in the very first ages the Christians adorned cities with memorials of the grace of heaven. Eusebius relates, that when he was at Cæsarea Philippi, he saw at the door of one house a bronze image of a woman on a stone column kneeling and with hands outstretched as a suppliant, and opposite to it stood, in the same metal, the image of a man, standing holding out his hand to her. These represented Jesus Christ and the woman who touched his garment to be healed. On entering the city, adds the historian, we beheld these statues ‡. These images were afterwards destroyed by Julian, but the fragments

* Antiq. Rom. Lib. I. cap. 79.
† Tuscul. v. 23.
‡ Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. cap. 18.

were collected by the Christians, and placed in the church, as Sozomen relates *. Many streets of Christian cities became distinguished by some venerable name or memorial of faith. What stranger is not now moved with indescribable sensations of devout pleasure when, for example, in that pious and faithful city which the Rhone devastates and the Saone caresses, he finds himself unexpectedly in the street of St. Polycarp, or in the streets and churches of St. Irenæus, of St. Just, and of St. Pothin? or when at Rome, though I can now only hint at the sacred memorials of that amazing and holy city, he enters the way of St. Nicholas in Carcere, and the way of St. Peter's Chains, and beholds the prison where the blessed apostles were confined, and that Pyramid by the Ostian road which saw the blessed Paul go to martyrdom. All Rome flocks to the chambers of a retired student in the Roman College, when the Church commemorates St. Aloysius Gonzaga. In the Gesu are preserved the small humble rooms which St. Ignatius occupied, his little study, and the small low chamber floored with tiles in which he died. Here is now an altar, at which St. Charles Bonomeo said his first mass. The same chamber was inhabited also by St. Francis Borgio. Here you see the old family painting of St. Ignatius, as a young knight, clad in complete steel, possessing a fair and engaging countenance. How solemn are the emotions on finding oneself in these rooms, where such an intercourse passed between earth and heaven! Who can depart from them without kissing the ground! In the house of the novices, adjoining the Church of St. Andrew, on Monte Cavallo, is shown the chamber in which St. Stanislaus Kostka died. It is now a chapel, and on the spot where he expired a most lovely figure of the little saint is represented as on his bed, in black and white marble. The sculptor, from being a heretic, was converted by the work of his own hands. What a tender mystery of grace! These are the doors which open not for gold, but only to the symbolum or sacred sign of Catholics. In the convent of the oratory at Rome, you see the chamber of St. Philip Neri, with the furniture as it stood in his time. What stranger can be insensible to the influence of local asso-

* Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 20.

ciations as he passes through the streets of Florence, when in a lane near the Cathedral, which enters the Piazza at the spot where Dante used to sit, he is shown the house in which St. Antoninus, the sainted archbishop, was born and educated? or when at Milan his attention is arrested in a street near the Basilica of St. Ambrose by an inscription, stating that in that house was baptized St. Augustin by St. Ambrose? or when he sees there the halls of the Palatine schools, and the statue of St. Augustine, under which is written "Augustinus hic humana docens, Divina didicit?" With what reverence does one enter that cell at Padua, built by the very hands of the seraphic father, inhabited at various times by five saints, and where Jesus Christ himself appeared in a visible form to the dying Antony. From this spot was that blessed soul conducted to heaven, attended by a choir of exulting angels. Ah! well may the inscription over the entrance be "supplex ingredere." In Sienna, the city which boasts the two holy advocates, is that cell of St. Catharine, in the house where she was born, which was originally a little room at the far end of the shop of her father, who was a dyer. In this cell she slept, and wrote her celebrated Epistles, and studied the holy Scriptures and the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas. The hole in the wall is seen through which she daily gave alms to the poor. In this cell she performed her penitential exercises: in this cell she had the vision of angels: in this cell did she remain in an exstacy during three days after the festival of the conversion of St. Paul. At Paris, in the street de la Calendre, the fifth house on the right hand, on entering from the street de la Juiverie, was believed by tradition to have been that in which St. Marcel, Bishop of Paris, was born, whose image was over the door. The clergy of Notre Dame used to make a station before this house on the day of the Ascension *. At Rheims, on the eastern side, was a gate called of the Prison, because there was a tower there in which Archbishop Tilpin confined Oger le Danois, and where Archbishop Vulfar retained some Saxons, whom Charlemagne had confided to him †."

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. II. chap. 2.

† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Lib. XIX.

The first bishops of Rheims were St. Sixtus and St. Siniceus, among whose converts fifty martyrs sealed their faith with their blood, at a spot called La Pompelle, one league from the city on the great Roman road, which was shown by constant tradition *. At Troyes there was a house which bore the sign of the tower of St. Mastie, to commemorate the tower of the house which had formerly stood there, in which that holy virgin lived with her parents in the fifth century, where her family received the first Christian missionaries, and were converted by them †. In the wall of the house before which St. Loup stopped Attila, when he passed by Troyes, was a piece of sculpture, representing the holy Bishop with his mitre and crosier, and a great soldier followed by others of a lower stature, and under it was an inscription, stating that in that spot did St. Loup, Bishop of Troyes, stop Attila. It would be endless to enumerate similar instances.

The streets of the cities of Italy are immortalized, not merely by the fountains that have been sung by Dante ‡, but by the miraculous graces of heaven commemorated by solemn pillars, as that column near the Baptistery in the Piazza del Duomo at Florence, which attests the miracle connected with the body of St. Zenobio, and that stone cross in the square at Aosta, which commemorates the flight of Calvin from that city on his return from Italy. In these cities are bridges containing houses in which were born canonized saints, and palaces, from the balconies of which most holy pontiffs have given their benediction §. At Florence there is that bridge of graces with its little oratory of our Lady, and the house still stands in which was born the blessed Thomas de Belacci, of the order of St. Francis. Some of these ancient Christian cities wore a grave and melancholy aspect, which announced the city of recollections and of the past. Witness Arles, with its hotels and castles whose mysterious inhabitants have long since disappeared, and with its images that have an un-

* Id. Liv. I. 28.

† Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 18.

‡ That of Sienna.

§ From the Palace Pitti Pius VII., in 1804, gave his benediction to the Florentines.

definable air of strangeness, which startles the beholder. Witness Pisa, with its palaces, that contain mysterious inscriptions over the gates, enigmatical, and full of ancient and forgotten lore. On the palace Lanfreducci are the words "alla giornata," under which hangs a captive's chain; the origin of which is no less a mystery than the inscription, though one feels that there is some connexion between them, and that they refer to the secret of some forgotten history. Into what meditation does the pilgrim fall when he reads over the gate of an ancient palace in Ravenna, the city which received the banished Dante, these words, which seem to refer to that event: "Deesse nobis terra in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur non potest:" or when, over the door of another house in the same city, he reads, "Amicis et ne paucis pateat etiam fictis?" These palaces, erected in the middle ages, have a solemn and tragic aspect, and they astonish us by their number as well as by their vastness. The verses of Horace do not seem to have cooled the ardour of our ancestors for building, although they did not require to be reminded of their tombs. The interior of these majestic hotels, as we observed of the castles of chivalry, announced any thing but an effeminate and trifling taste. It is impossible not to be struck with awe on ascending those majestic staircases in the palaces of Genoa, or on entering that terrible Hall of the Giants in the palace of Tau at Mantua, in which, when once entered, you see no means of exit; but you are surrounded with rocks, which fall upon giants wounded and flying, and defending themselves in vain on ground which is covered with ruins, while the distance is involved in clouds and thunder. Even the windows of shops in Catholic cities correspond with the spirituality of the inhabitants, and present more beautiful objects of piety for the use and decoration of churches and oratories than instruments of luxury and secular pomp. Jewels and gold are displayed there in subservience to religious reverence, and not to the vanity of the rich. The profession of the silversmiths of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was connected with all the arts of design, and formed an apprenticeship and a school of sculpture; so that from their shops came forth such men as Brunellesco, Donatello, and Ghiberti.

As he who kneeling gazes on the relicks of the saintly

dead within the walls of Vallombrosa, feels his eyes drawn on every side, and knows not where to stay his looks, so doth the pilgrim feel his sense confused on entering an ancient city of the Christians, which on every side contains some wondrous monument of sanctity, beneficence, and zeal. The streets of cities in the middle ages, as indeed those of Italy and Spain at present, were not a scene of constant commotion and bewildering activity, from the din and dust of wheels, like those of modern luxurious cities

> —— where the noise
> Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
> And injury and outrage.

Men were taught, as in the time of St. Chrysostom, to walk through the streets of cities with the utmost modesty, having their eyes rather cast upon the ground than directing them from side to side, lest their enemy should take occasion to wound their soul. The inhabitants seemed employed but not dissipated. Every thing indicated that they had heard the holy warning, "potes citò fugare Jesum, et gratiam ejus perdere si volueris ad exteriora declinare." The streets were not disturbed by that confusion of hideous discords which pervade the towns of France and England, where the haste of those who have deserted the place of virtue to become the restless slaves of sordid gain, gives rise to a multitude of sounds distracting and ignoble: they were not a stage of continued agony for poor animals, sinking under the blows of merciless tormentors, who seemed in every stroke to think of their political enemies. The streets from the thirteenth century, as at Rome till lately, and as at Florence to this day, were flagged across like the pavement of a church, being less designed for wheeled carriages than for passengers on foot or on horseback. The latter were sufficiently numerous, for nobles used to pay their visits on horseback, judges to proceed to the courts, and even the clergy to go about on horseback; monks used sometimes to preach from horseback; kings went to be crowned on horseback; and it is even recorded that the constable of St. Pol went on horseback from the Bastile to the Place de Grêve to be beheaded *. It was not necessary to be

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, Tom. IV. 301.

rich and to have a vast palace in order to sleep in the city *; the sweet refreshment of the first rest was not excluded there. Guillaume de Champagne, Archbishop of Rheims, gave to that city the ground called "culturam" in the suburbs, in order to build upon it houses for the cartwrights, carpenters, coopers, and all who exercised a noisy trade, that the streets of the city might be tranquil †. Their silence was only broken by the cheerful sound of human voices, or by the sweet tinkling of innumerable bells, for such was the number of clocks that struck minute divisions of every hour, from churches, convents, palaces, and portals, that it was like a constant shower of hours and beautiful harmony, or else it was by the chaunt of the solemn Litanee, begun within a church, and then continued in the adjoining street by the kneeling crowd. In the south of France, at the present day, as we read was the case in Avignon in the time of Petrarch, the stone benches at the doors of the houses are occupied every evening by persons of all classes, not excepting even the noblest, conversing familiarly together, as if members of one family, while children play in the centre of the streets, and poets recite their verses to the plaintive melody of a guitar. Such seats are found outside the house of Ariosto, in the street of Mirasole at Ferrara.

To account for the different character which architecture, customs, hours, and all things relative to life in cities assume with the moderns, and with those who followed the Christian philosophy, would not be difficult. The moderns are only pleased by distraction, and their cities are expressly required to supply them with this ingredient, so essential to their enjoyment. Each house seems to proclaim the character of its inhabitant; the whole man drawn out to things external, and resting on things without.

> His hours fill'd up with riots, banquets, sports,
> And never noted in him any study,
> Any retirement, any sequestration
> From open haunts and popularity.
>
> *Γαστὴρ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, πανταχῆ βλέπων*
> *Ὀφθαλμός.*

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* Juv. Sat. III.

† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, II. 341.

And, as Messenio jests in the old play, every city under their influence might have been called Epidamnus, even by themselves; for they never left one without suffering loss *; whereas our Catholic ancestors were most cheerful when the interior life was not injured by things external, but rather assisted; and therefore even the form of their cities was calculated to favour meditation and peace, insomuch that as St. Benedict prescribes to the abbots of his order, "All things seem to have been purposely tempered and disposed, so that souls might be saved." It was clear that a meek placid feeling was diffused through the state. Those narrow modest streets, in which the people seem to live as one family, and to walk as dear children before God, with their eyes continually presented with gracious images of the saints and of our blessed Lady, however disagreeable in the judgment of those who seek to live well by means of horses and chariots, who are accustomed to cities where both nature and Christianity are banished, in which the public ways seem so expressly designed for the purposes of dress and display, that men are afraid to speak or move there, excepting with an air which denotes that they are rich, seem expressly made to favour a form of life for men who rather shun than love distraction. In Christian ages, the poet might traverse Rome from the Quirinal to Mount Aventine without meeting any obstacle to his meditation, and the chorus of writers was not obliged, as Horace says, to fly from cities and confine its affection to the groves †. Wherever streets were necessarily disturbed, it was usual, until two centuries ago, to build houses with their gable ends turned towards it, so that the front was removed from the distraction, being towards some court or garden. In fact, in Catholic cities, the laity could always lead somewhat of a monastic life, while inhabiting their paternal or their hired house. They have other resources there, besides flying from place to place, like hawks or vultures, wherever the smell of meat rises to their nostrils, indicating the preparation for a feast. In a modern city, men in the evening leave their houses for a banquet: in a Catholic city they go out for the benediction. The offices of the Church, morning and evening, and even

* Plautus Menæchmi, II. 1. † Hor. Epist. II. 2.

the night instruction were not wanting to those who were still living in the world; and, if the intervals were past in study, or other intellectual exercise, it was a life scholastic and almost monastical. The number of churches always open, the frequent processions, and the repeated instructions of the clergy, made the whole city like a holy place, and were, without doubt, the means of making multitudes to choose the strait entrance, and to walk in the narrow way. There are many who have no idea of the perfection in which great numbers, in every rank of society, pass their lives in Catholic cities, not excepting even that capital which has of late been made the nurse of so much ill. But wherever the modern philosophy has created, as it were, an atmosphere, that which is spiritual is so confined, closed, and isolated, that its existence is hardly felt or known. The world appears to reign with undisputed possession, and that too as if it had authority to reign. And yet there are tender and passionate souls who have need of being unceasingly preserved in the path of virtue by the rein of religious exercises, who when deprived of the power of approaching at the hour their inclinations may suggest to the sources of grace, are exposed to great perils, and who, perhaps, sometimes incur in consequence eternal death.

> Ay me, how many perils doe enfold,
> The righteous man, to make him daily fall!

House of prayer why close thy gates? Is there an hour in all nature when the heart should be weary of prayer? when man, whom highest God doth deign to hear in thee as his temple, should have no incense to offer before thy altar, no tear to confide to thee *?

In Catholic cities there are always some young persons who lead a life like that of St. Basil and his friend, while students together, who knew the way to two places only of the great city in which they resided,—to the church and to the schools. And yet there even the most frequented ways are safe for innocence, breathing rather an air of poesy than of diabolic contagion. The poor beggars in

* Lamartine.

the streets of Rome, instead of telling a tale of feigned distress, are heard chaunting the prose for the dead or some hymn to blessed Mary. Homer is represented saying, that he prefers wandering over the world, though weak and poor, to leading an idle life in the sacred streets of Cyme; but in a Catholic city there is no condition which may not possess sanctity and joy. No hostile banner is there hoisted to draw men from the ranks of virtue. The Florentines, indeed, may not at present dress in the simple style which seemed so admirable to Dante, but visit a sea-port like Genoa, and see what innocent and holy manners prevail. It is no longer the nautic crowd whose dissolute insolence is the theme of the Athenian poets. Here angels might pass, and not drop a tear. Mark the manners even of the multitude that loiters in the public ways of every frequented town. See how it meekly kneels to receive a benediction from the bishop who happens to pass by: and when the dusk comes on, and the lamp of the sanctuary begins to shine brighter, and to arrest the eye of the passenger through the opened doors of churches, hearken to the sweet sound of innumerable bells which rises from all sides, and see what a change of movement takes place among this joyous and innocent people; the old men break off their conversation on the benches at the doors and take out their rosaries, the children snatch up their books and jackets from the green in token that play is over, the women rise from their labour of the distaff, and all together proceed into the church, when the solemn litanee soon rises with its abrupt and crashing peal, till the bells all toll out their last and loudest tone, and the adorable victim is raised over the prostrate people, who then issue forth and retire to their respective homes in sweet peace, and with an expression of the utmost thankfulness and joy. The moderns in vain attempt to account for the difference of manners in these Catholic cities, and in their own, by referring to their present prosperity and accumulation of wealth; these cities in point of magnificence incomparably surpassed theirs, and with respect to riches they were not inferior: for peace was in their strength, and abundance in their towers. An able writer has shown that the commercial prosperity of Christian nations was owing to that universal church which broke down the barriers between different na-

tions, developed and assisted the spirit of proselytism by withdrawing religion from national and political forms, and by means of that spirit, opened new channels to maritime commerce and to the intercourse of men. St. Louis, in his establishments, laid down the principle of free exportation as the simple dictate of universal charity. It is true men had not for sole motive of activity the desire of making a fortune, tempered by the fear of the executioner; but riches flowed into the Catholic states, as they had been promised in the Gospel, in the way of a surplus; and temporal prosperity was added unto those who sought first the kingdom of heaven and its justice. In 1764, the Abbe Intieri, founded at Naples the first chair of political economy, and the author who remarks this fact, establishes his proposition that Catholicism comprizes in its practical consequences the most admirable system of social economy which has ever been given to the world. In fact, from the tenth century, a multitude of free cities had risen in Flanders and on the Baltic, the ancient territory of the Germans, which rivalled Venice and Genoa in riches. It is admitted that in the fifteenth century, Florence, Venice, and Genoa, possessed as much wealth as is now found in London, and without the desolation of its poor. Two millions of florins in gold, in effective money, circulated at that time in the former city, while it was the centre of learning and the arts. Boniface VIII. said to Charles of Valois, who was going to Florence, "I send you to the fountain of gold." Nevertheless Pignotti remarks that the merchants there still lived even in the midst of riches, far removed from the parade of ostentation. They would not have ventured to put either gold or silver upon their garments, nor make use of silver plate at their tables; and it would have been accounted a shame for a citizen to have made use of it *. "For this disposition and greatness of mind" was inherent in a Catholic community, to which these words of Cicero are strictly applicable, "that while in their private affairs and domestic expenses, being content with the least, they lived on the most slender allowance, in the empire and in public dignity they referred all things to grandeur and magni-

* Hist. of Tuscany, III.

ficence." "Quæritur enim in re domestica continentiæ laus, in publica dignitatis *." Pignotti says, that in the course of a few years many sumptuous edifices had been erected in Florence, and that generosity appeared to go hand in hand with religious charity in embellishing that city. In the year 1288, a Florentine citizen, Falco Portinari, better known on account of his daughter Beatrice, who is immortalized by Dante, than by the pious and useful work he began, founded the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, one of the first in Tuscany. Five years afterwards, the genius of Calimala was employed in adorning the church of St. John with white and black marble. In the preceding year, on the day of the holy cross, the church of this name was begun with that magnificence which we now admire; and in September a beginning was made with all possible splendour to the superb cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore. It was to these holy edifices that merchants voluntarily devoted a part of their gains. The same men built also two towns in the upper valley of the Arno, peopled them, and gave privileges to the inhabitants. These were the castles of St. John upon the left bank of the Arno, and that of Castel Franco on the right. It was the genius of the Catholic religion which inspired Cosmo de Medicis, when he applied his immense riches to embellishing the city and the country with sacred and profane buildings. The hill of Fiesole still boasts of his superb edifices; those of St. Jerome, the magnificent abbey, the splendid villa at the summit of Careggi, Cafaggiolo, and Trebbio, are all works of Cosmo. In Florence, the sumptuous palace in Via Larga, the churches of St. Laurence, St. Mark, and St. Verdiana, owe their origin to him. In Magello, too, he erected the church of the minor friars in the midst of a delightful grove, and he even erected hospitals in Jerusalem: in such works the operation of religion is seen as clearly as if they were enjoined by the very letter of its text. Since the ages of faith, and the revival of the epicurean philosophy, the only monuments erected in towns have been fortresses and prisons, theatres, exchanges, and triumphal arches.

"Laudantur urbes similiter atque homines †," says Quintilian. "The virtues and vices of each are the same."

* Pro L. Flacco. † Hist. Orat. Lib. III. 7.

Amidst the general character of faith which belonged to Christian cities, there were moral features peculiar to particular places discernible in each. Thus an old writer says, that the city of Rouen assumed a lamb for its arms, to signify that this city was always mild and gentle, insomuch that the blood of no martyr was ever shed within its walls; the first messengers of God who came there having been received with honour, and all strangers being sure, in all ages, to meet there with kind and hospitable treatment *. At Peronne, such attention was paid to innocence of language, that fines used to be levied upon all who offended against it, and these fines were applied to the expence of the walls †. Some cities could boast of enjoying the especial favour of holy advocates; others, like Ravenna, seemed to enjoy privileges from heaven. At Lyons, the church had a custom of always expecting a revelation from God before it elected an archbishop. In the sixth century, this custom prevailed there, as appears from the life of St. Eucher; for we read that on occasion of his predecessor's death, a child had a vision of an angel, who indicated to him St. Eucher, who led a hermit's life in a cavern on the Durance. Upon hearing this, the people and clergy, after a fast of three days, sent the archdeacon with some others to the hermit, whom they brought back with them, and recognised him unanimously as their pastor ‡. Cities exulted in their ancient exploits of saintly warfare, as a family in those of its ancestors. Thus, in the hall of the palace of the Republic, at Sienna, you are triumphantly shown a painting which represents the departure of the two thousand Siennese crusaders, who were sent to the Holy Land in the year 1098. Cicero says, "that for discipline and gravity Marseilles surpassed every other, and that it would be easier to praise all its institutions than to imitate them §." Yet his writings are an evidence that the whole character of a city life has undergone a revolution since the rise of Christianity:

* Théod. Liquet. Recherches sur l'Hist. Religieuse et Litteraire de Rouen depuis les premiers temps jusqu'à Rollon, p. 11.

† Lettres du Roi, 28 Janv. 1368, relative to the town of Peronne.

‡ Mabillon, Acta Benedict. Tom. I. 248.

§ Pro L. Flacco.

for in the ages of faith it was assuredly free from the crimes which he seems to think inseparable from it *. In the Augustan age the persons who preferred cities to the country are described as having regard only to their plays, baths, taverns, and vaults of debauchery †. In comparison with the character which then prevailed, there was no luxury and consequently no avarice in Catholic cities: it was for every man who wished to visit them, and not, as at ancient Corinth, for the rich alone. "The Romans," says Petrarch, "are not greedy of gain. I was astonished in so great a city to find so few merchants and usurers." The streets of these cities were less familiar with the bulletins of an exchange, than with the verses of pilgrims, who, like St. Columban from Ireland, sung the shame and folly of avarice.

St. Gregory, of Tours, mentions the coming of Nuninus, a French nobleman, to the city of Auxerre, and expressly says, that he came to that city, "causa tantum religionis," to visit the tombs of saints, and to pray to God ‡. Fleury says, that during the solemn fasts of the church, all business ceased, and the streets of the most populous cities were as silent as the desert §. On entering a Catholic city during the octave of Corpus Christi, you find the air in every street embalmed with the fragrance of roses, and the pavement still strewed with the beautiful leaves which had been scattered before the blessed sacrament. Cities were privileged, mysterious holy places, which announced on all sides the good tidings of redemption, and from many of them, as still in our days from Rome, each man necessarily returned either better or worse than when he went. When the Normans in the eleventh century first came to Sicily, Messina had been since two hundred years in the hands of the Mussulmans, and yet on the summit of its ramparts shone a cross of gold on a purple flag, a revered symbol which the inhabitants had obtained permission to retain. When Ferdinand and Isabella had delivered the city of Grenada from the dominion of the Moors, the joy was all for the exaltation of the cross. The first

* Pro S. Roscio Amer.
† Hor. Epist. I. 14.
‡ Greg. Turon. de Gloria Confess. cap. 43.
§ Meurs des Chrêst. 290.

step taken by the grand master of Leon, on taking possession of the city, was to elevate a great cross on the highest tower of the Alhambra, while a numerous clergy entoned the joyful hymn of "Te Deum laudamus," and the devout hymn, "O Crux ave spes unica." Three times was the said cross raised on high, and at each elevation the people sung this pious hymn. Then the devout and victorious King of Spain, nobly armed, on horseback in the midst of his battalions, when he beheld the cross elevated, dismounted and knelt upon the ground, and adored the cross, returning thanks to God for the benefits he had bestowed upon them in the recovery of this great city of Grenada. As you enter Rome by the gate of St. Paul, or by that of St. Lorenzo, you see a little cross in the wall of the outer portal, and this every fervent Christian kisses with devout reverence. In Italy, the first thing that meets the eye over the gate of towered cities is a pious invitation to all the faithful from some particular Church, to assist in it at some approaching festival which it is about to celebrate. At the gate of every city there is an image of its patron, or some noble painting which tells the stranger that faith is within those walls, so that he enters full of devout joy and confidence, perhaps, applying to it those mysterious words of the divine text, "Blessed are they who enter into the city; without are the delusions of nature, and the poisonous creatures which infest the desert of the world." Nor are these impressions effaced as he departs from it, for the Catholic traveller must needs feel that the place is holy in which dwells the meek religious man of blessed order to whom he has repaired in the sacramental tribunals, whom he found a man of God, for wisdom and for charity more than human, who has renovated his world-worn heart by revealing to him the secrets of the spiritual side of things and refreshed his parched and fainting soul with some drops of the dew of heaven. Many were the memorable events which followed from this conception of the holiness of cities, of which two instances are related by St. Gregory, of Tours; for he says, that the city of Bazadois being besieged, a certain holy priest used to go round the walls every night singing the Psalms and praying, while the enemy was laying waste all the surrounding towns, burning houses, and ravaging

lands, and plundering in all directions; but that one night it seemed to Gauseric, the king of the barbarians, as if men in white robes, and carrying lighted tapers, were making the circuit of the city, and raising a chorus of psalmody; that after sending a herald to demand the reason of it, and receiving for answer, that no such procession had been seen by the citizens, and that they knew nothing of it, he concluded if they do not know it is manifest that God assists them, and thereupon that he drew off from the place *. The second example occurred at the siege of Nantes, while that city was surrounded by a host of barbarians, in the time of King Chlodorec, for it happened on the sixtieth night of the siege about midnight, that there appeared to them men in white vestments, and holding burning tapers, who walked forth from the Basilica of the blessed martyrs, Rogatianus and Donatus, and another chorus proceeded from the neighbouring church of the great confessor Similinus. The two processions joined and saluted each other, prostrated themselves in prayer, and then returned each to the place whence it first came forth. At this spectacle, the whole army of the enemy being seized with great horror, fled with such precipitation, that at break of day there was not a man to be seen†. Fanciful writers availed themselves of this opinion of the sanctity of cities in framing tales to amuse their readers. Torquemade relates an instance to show how unwilling were those under the dominion of demons to enter them, and it is told with such simplicity, that it cannot be heard without a certain pleasure. "When I was a student," then says Torquemade, "another young scholar was very intimate with me, who became afterwards so skilled in medicine, that he was made physician to the Emperor Charles V. This youth told me that being at the town of Guadaloupe, learning grammar in the monastery there, he on one occasion went out in the evening to take a walk in the fields, and that he saw a man coming up to him habited like a monk, and mounted on a horse so lean and weary, that it seemed hardly able to bear the weight. The stranger came up to him and said, 'Young man, will you do me the favour to go for me

* S. Greg. Turon. Miracul. Lib. I. 13. † Id. Lib. I. 60.

into the town and buy something for my supper, because I cannot enter it myself at present, for certain reasons; and you will do me a great pleasure if you will take this trouble for me.' The scholar said he would go gladly if he would give him the means: and so he gave him silver, and the scholar ran to the town, and brought him back what he desired. The man, spreading his mantle on the ground, sat down and made his supper in the field, and invited the scholar to eat with him. So as they talked together about many things, the scholar asked him where he was going, and he replied, to Grenada. The scholar said, 'I hope to go there myself before long to see my mother, for it is a long time since I have seen her or heard from her.' The man then said, 'If you wish to go there, come with me, and I will pay your expences, and comfort you on the way; only it must be on the condition that we set out immediately, for I cannot delay here' The scholar, who was very poor, not having a farthing, accepted the offer, and only begged him to wait till he could run to the town, to commend some of his acquaintances to God, and to tie up some books. The man consenting, he ran off, and came back speedily with his books in a string; but as it was night-fall, he begged the man to wait till morning; but he replied that they would better travel during the night, and rest by day, in order to avoid the heat, for it was in the month of June: so they set out, the man on horseback and the scholar on foot, talking together of many things, till after a time the man desired him to mount up behind him. The scholar began to laugh, and said, 'How can your horse carry us both, when he is already so fatigued with your weight?' 'Ah,' replied the stranger, 'you do not know him: only mount, boy, as I bid you.' The scholar obeyed, and immediately the horse began to trot in a wonderful style, and so smoothly, that the scholar at last fell asleep. Thus they travelled all night, and at day-break the scholar opened his eyes and saw a beautiful country of gardens and groves, and a great city before him, and he asked his companion what was its name, and he told him that they were on the plain of Grenada, and only begged in return for such a lift, that he would not mention to any one the particulars of the journey; 'for,' he added, 'I must now turn off here, and so you may

go your own way into the city.' The scholar, in great amaze, let himself down and took leave of him, and entered Grenada, not a little alarmed, and persuaded that he must have been riding upon a horse possest *."

But to return from fable to history. The very seasons of amusement and of busy occupation in cities partook of a religious interest. Sacred plays were represented to honour the entry of kings: it was usual in the public streets to act the play of the Good Samaritan, of Dives and Lazarus, of the Annunciation and Nativity. Coventry, Chester, York, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, were famous for their religious plays. The incorporated trades used to perform, and the various sacred parts were assigned to particular trades, according to their respective patrons. A sacred mystery of the passion of Christ was performed at Padua in 1243, and at Friuli in 1298; and at Florence in 1304 there was a representation of hell upon the Arno, to the fame of which spectacle Dante, then in exile, is said to have been not insensible. In the same city, on occasion of the anniversary of the death of Cosmo de Medicis, there was a grand public festival given in representation of the three Magi coming from the East, guided by the star. It was so pompous, that the preparations cost the labour of three months †. These superb pageants, which used to be celebrated in cities and towns on great events, in which persons of all ranks took part, nourished a taste for art and decoration, and tended to ennoble and humanise the lower orders. Such were the magnificent spectacles given at Venice, when Lorenzo Celsi was doge, in the year 1364, on occasion of the recovery of the island of Candia, and at Milan by the Visconti, in 1355, and by Bergonzo Botta on the marriage of Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza with Isabella of Arragon; as also by Galeazzo Visconti in 1366, when he married his daughter to Lionel, son of the king of England, and that celebrated at Rimini in 1324, by Malatesta. These were sometimes annual, as that at Venice on the election of a new doge, and on the marrying of the sea, when used to be displayed the eight standards, which sovereign pontiffs had given to the republic; and that on the feast of St. Catharine, insti-

* Hexameron, Liv. III. 284.

† Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, Lib. VII.

tuted by the doge Gradenigo in 1307; and in other places an annual rejoicing took place, as at Ferrara, in pursuance of a statute in 1279; on the festival of St. George; and at Vicenza that denominated of the wheel, on Corpus Christi and on the Assumption; at Pavia on the anniversary of the translation of San Siro; and at Sienna on the feast of St. George, to commemorate its deliverance at Monte Aperto; at Modeno on the feast of St. Michael; at Bologna, in the thirteenth century, on that of St. Bartholomew, to commemorate its deliverance from the tyranny of the Ghibellines; and on that of St. Peter; at Verona, on the first Sunday of Lent, at which latter Dante was present; and on the last Friday of the carnival, in the piazza of St. Zeno *. Stripe mentions the spectacles which were exhibited in London, when Queen Eleanor rode through the city to her coronation, in 1236; and again in 1298, on occasion of the victory obtained by Edward I. over the Scots; and again in 1357, when Edward the Black Prince brought King John of France prisoner through the city; and in 1392, when Richard II. passed through London, after the citizens, by submission and the queen's intercession, had obtained the restoration of their charter; and again in 1415, upon the entry of Henry V. after the battle of Agincourt; and again in 1445, on the marriage of Henry VI. with Queen Marguerite, of which last we read, that there were costly pageants with verses by Lydgate, and resemblance of divers old histories, to the great comfort of the queen and her attendants. Sometimes the public amusements consisted in the exercises of the youth. Invitations to tournaments used to be sent to cities as well as to the nobility. In the year 1331, the citizens of Rheims proceeded under their banners to assist at a celebrated tournament near Tournay, at which Hugues de Large, one of their number, defeated and disarmed John Vestin of Tournay, surnamed Le Roi de Cornoüailles, one of the most doughty champions †. Rivers gave occasion to a variety of joyous spectacles, as that at Pavia every year performed in boats on the Ticino; and at Pisa that on the bridge over the Arno, to commemorate the valour of Cinzica Sismondi, whose heroism preserved the city

* Antichita Romantiche d'Italia, Epoca II.

† Anquetil, Hist. de Reims, Liv. III. 154.

from being surprised by the Sarassini in 1105 * : but the sentiment of pagan glory never entered into them; for the mimic triumph of Castruccio Castracani at Lucca, in 1326, was a rare, if not a solitary instance, of a revival of that barbarous spectacle. In Italy we may still witness the innocent and beautiful form of public rejoicing, as in that city on the Arno †, whose youth still delights in the exercises of the days of old chivalry, when its festivities could inspire Ariosto with imagery for his world of bright enchantment. The chivalry of humble life played an important part on these occasions. The King of France, Louis XII. and his queen, made their entry into the city of Rouen, which was very triumphant, for, adds the old historian of Bayart, if the gentlemen did their duty there, the children of the town did their's no less ‡. In another respect they conduced to the advantage of society, by causing to meet together the nobles, poets, philosophers, and men of letters of various countries, who thus became acquainted with each other, and mutually imparted those discoveries which might contribute to the common glory. In fact, noble writers did not disdain to describe these spectacles; and sometimes the earliest efforts of their genius were employed upon them, as those of Giambullari when he described that celebrated at Florence on the marriage of Cosmo I. with Eleanore of Toledo. At Venice, Jaffier had the curiosity to witness the ceremony of the Doge marrying the sea, because it was to be for the last time. St. Real says, this spectacle of public rejoicing, this tranquil and happy festival of a whole people, so wrought upon him that he lost all resolution to co-operate with the conspirators and destroy Venice: and it was at that moment that he conceived the expedient which he hoped might save both the city and his companions. Petrarch, describing the joyous festivity at Cologne on the evening of his arrival in that city, after mentioning how he was struck with the number of beautiful women who covered the banks of the Rhine, concludes thus: "In the midst of the vast crowd I was surprised to find neither tumult

* Tranci Annali Pisani. Marangoni Cronica dí Pisa, 318.

† The famous sport of the Pisans, called the giuoco del ponte, recalls the games of chivalry.

‡ La tres joyeuse Hystoire, &c. chap. xxviii.

nor confusion; a great joy appeared without licentiousness." The connexion between the Catholic religion and this cheerful and happy aspect of cities, was never more clearly seen than where the modern philosophy is allowed to prevail against it, as in that noble capital which in former times was joyous and comparatively innocent, though now, through the multitude of her sophists, she is proud and loathsome. There for awhile at least they have accomplished their triumph: "attrita est civitas vanitatis; clausa est omnis domus nullo introeunte *."

To the intervals of busy occupation belonged also a kind of religious interest in the Christian towns, which might even supply matter for a curious episode in their history. When religion had given rise to an extraordinary concourse of people at any place, assembling in consequence of devotion to some saint on his festival, merchants availed themselves of the circumstance, and fairs were established during the interval, so that the faithful might exercise their devotion, and at the same time reap the advantage of a plentiful and cheap market for things of more rare or difficult attainment. The clergy favoured commerce to a certain extent, and even granted indulgences to those who, having repaired to these fairs, should make offerings to the poor in the nearest church; for piety found nothing to condemn in this kind of commerce, which was simple and conformable to those primeval maxims of humanity which Hesiod of old developed in heroic verse. All servile labour was indeed prohibited on a festival, but dispensations and custom for the good of the community allowed this minor and local traffic, though contrary to the canon law, which on these occasions was considered abrogated †.

At Jerusalem during the seasons when the pilgrims from the West resorted thither, there was a fair held; at Loretto on the festival of our Lady in September, at Pavia on the festival of St. Augustin, whose relics are there enshrined, and similarly in other places, according to the epoch of their respective patrons, annual fairs were held. At Lyons the famous fair des

* Isai. c. xxiv.

† Ligorio Theologia, Lib. III. Tract. III. cap. 1.

Merveilles owed its origin to a solemn festival, celebrated in memory of the 19,000 victims whose blood was shed for the faith in the primitive Church. This drew such a concourse of people, that the fair was established. The celebrated fair of Beaucaire was held at the feast of the Magdalen. In the time of King Charles V. Gilles Malet, Seigneur of Villepecle, obtained leave to have a fair in this place, to begin on St. George's Day, on account of the concourse of people to the chapel there, which was under the invocation of that saint *. Such was the crowd of devout people who resorted to the abbey of Gercy on the festival of its patron, when his relics were exposed, that the abbess obtained leave, in 1510, to establish a fair on that day. It was the exposition of the relics in the abbey of Hierre which occasioned the concourse of people there, and the consequent establishment of the fair on its festival. The dedication of the church of St. Remi at Rheims, is still commemorated by an annual fair on the first of October. In the year 1486 the monks of St. Germain-des-Près, at Paris, had the privilege of holding a fair near the abbey; so had also the abbey of St. Laurent. This was the scene of Parisian festivity. Every day during the fair, mass used to be said in a chapel at the end of one of the halls or booths. There was also a fair in the open place opposite the west front of Notre Dame; another within the walls of the temple on the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude; another on the festival of St. Clair, before the abbey of St. Victor; and generally there used to be a fair before each church on the festival of its patron-saint †.

In England the history of fairs proves the practice to have been the same as in other countries. When the first mass was sung in Salisbury Cathedral after its erection on the new site, King Henry III. gave a charter to the church, granting, among other privileges, the liberty of an annual fair of eight days, from the vigil to the octave of the assumption inclusive, for the benefit of the church. The priory of St. Bartholomew in London had the privilege, from the kings of England, of holding an annual fair on its festival.

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. XIII. 195.
† De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. IV. 351.

To mark how much interest might be attached to the history of these fairs, let us delay an instant and hear the account which is given of that of St. Denis, which was for the first time established near that abbey in the time of the pious King Dagobert. It began on the 9th of October, the festival of St. Denis, and lasted during a month, to allow time for merchants to come from Lombardy, Provence, and Spain. In the year 1472, it was finally abridged to eight days. The second fair of St. Denis began on the festival of St. Matthias, because that was the day of the dedication of the church, which had been finished under Charlemagne. Indulgences were published then for all who visited the church. The third fair of St. Denis was called the Landit, from the word "indictus," or "campus indicatus," it being held in the fields between La Chapelle and St. Denis, where the Bishop of Paris used to assemble the devout multitude to show the holy relics of the cathedral, there being no church in Paris large enough for the purpose. The clergy went in procession, "usque ad indictum:" and this was the origin of the Landit. A poet of the year 1290, who had made a list of the streets of Paris in verse, gave a description of this fair as "la plus roial foire du monde."

> "Premierement la procession
> De Nostre Dame de Paris
> Y vient, que Dieu gart de perir,
> Tous les bons marcheans qui y sont
> Qui les grans richesses y ont,
> Que Diex les puit tous avancier:
> L'Evesque ou le Penancier,
> Leur fait de Dieu beneison."

"There," he says, "are the sellers of beer and the barbers, the tavern-keepers and the sellers of tapestry, and the mercers,

> "A la coste du grand chemin
> Est la foire du parchemin."

And after that are the tailors, the furriers, the linen-drapers, the leather-sellers, the shoe-sellers, and cutlers, and rope-sellers, the corn-merchants, the jewellers, and

silversmiths. These merchants come to the fair from Paris and Provins, Rouen, Ghent, Ypres, Douay, Bruxelles, Caen, Breteul, Chartres, Beauvais, Evreux, Troyes, Sens, Auxmalle, Montereul sur la Mer, St. Quintin, St. Omer, Abbeville, Chalons, Louvain, Tournay, Corbie, Lille, Flui Arras. Mercy!" cries the poet, oppressed with the numbers that occur to him,

"Je les mis tous en mon escrit."

"Nor must I forget," he continues, "the dealers in cattle, in sheep, and swine, and horses."

"Rousins, palefrois et destrier,
Les meilleurs, que l'on puet trover,
Jumens, poulains et palefrois,
Tels comme por Contes et pour Roys."

Upon the acquisition which the abbey of St. Denis made of this land in 1294, the Landit came more under its jurisdiction. When the day arrived of the Landit, the abbey sent its officers to receive the bishop and clergy of Paris with the relics. In the thirteenth century, the university of Paris being established in form, began to take part in the Landit, on account of the parchment sold there, which was then a great article in all fairs. The rector went to choose the parchment for the university. In 1291, all dealers in parchment were forbidden to procure it at the Landit, on the first day of the fair, before merchants of the king and of the bishop of Paris, and the masters and scholars of the university, had made their provisions. This going of the rector to the Landit was a joyful time for the scholars to whom it gave a vacation of some days; for all must needs go with him, as if it were not enough that he should be attended by his officers. The journey was made with all the pomp and rejoicing of an ancient triumph. All the Regents and scholars mounted on horseback in the Place of St. Geneviève, and from thence marched in order; though circumstances sometimes occurred which, as Lebeuf says, gave infinite embarrassment to the masters. It was not enough to go to the Landit, the scholars must go as far as St. Denis. As the Landit was in a hot season of the year, numbers of scholars used to fall sick in consequence of the fatigue, especially the little ones. At length, in

1550, Jerome Garnier, the rector, procured an ordonnance from the parliament, limiting the number that might accompany the rector, and only twelve of each nation were in future permitted to attend him; but notwithstanding, there continued to be private bands of scholars, called Les petits Landits, who persisted in going. The year 1556 completed the calamity of the scholars, for the Landit was removed to the walls of St. Denis. However, the scholars wishing to preserve their old customs, resolved to continue their annual expeditions to the old spot in the plain, though there was to be no longer a fair there. At length, when the art of printing had superseded the use of parchment, the Landit became obsolete, with regard to the university, and nothing remained of it but the leave which used to be granted every year on the Monday after St. Barnabas, which continued to be called the congé du Landit*.

In Italy, on the feast of St. Mark, the indulgences granted by the holy see drawing vast multitudes to Venice, a fair was instituted in 1180 on the shores of the Adriatic, in which various spectacles used to be offered, and where it was the custom for artists to exhibit specimens of their work. It was at this fair that Canova first distinguished himself, and it was the applause there bestowed on his group of Dedalus and Icarus which is supposed to have encouraged him to persevere in that track of glory†. The minstrels who used to sing the song of Roland at these fairs became so numerous, that in 1288 there were statutes published at Bologna against them‡. These particulars respecting the fair of St. Mark and of St. Denis will convey an idea of the features which, in some degree, belonged to all similar assemblies of merchants in the middle ages; for everywhere these annual fairs were invested with somewhat of a smiling, and even poetic character, being closely connected with a thousand innocent recollections of friendship with immemorial customs, which attached men to their homes and to their country, with associations of domestic interest, and with the encouragement of humble and popular artists, who

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. III. p. 257.

† Paolo Morosini, Storia di Venezia, Marrin Storia del Commercio di Venezia.

‡ Ghirardacci Annali.

were induced to employ their talents in a multitude of inventions, and to conduce to the recreation, and even to the religious instruction of youth. Tasso, in an unpublished letter, borrows a noble image of the accidents of human life from the confusion of a solemn and populous fair; and, in fact, philosophers as well as poets might have deigned to visit them. In cities on these occasions hermits were sometimes seen, who came either for the purpose of assisting at the festival which gave rise to the fair, or else of addressing some words of holy counsel to the people assembled. Thus the hermit, Nicolas von der Fluë, who had his cell and little chapel in the forest near Sarnen, used never to be seen from home excepting once every year on the eve of the Assumption, when he used to be seen in the crowd at the solemn procession in Lucerne*. It was on the Saturday after St. Thomas's Day, in the year 1481, that this holy man came barefoot from his cell in the forest, over the mountains, deep in snow, to Stanz, where he appeared in the assembly, and succeeded in reconciling differences, and prevailed upon his countrymen to admit Freyburg and Soleure into their confederacy. Before all the great festivals holy solitary men used to flock into cities, and were sure to appear as the great bells announced the first vespers of the feast. Monteil says, that Olier, the solitary religious man, generally known by the name of the hermit of the Aube, because he lived in a little hermitage near the source of that river, used always to come into Troyes on the eve of great festivals, to assist at the solemnities in the cathedral. On these occasions he used to take up his lodging at the top of one of the towers of the Hôtel de Ville; he was neither priest nor deacon, nor subdeacon nor clerk, his cowl was nothing but what was worn by the peasants; he had made no vows, like the hermit brothers, nor did he belong to any order, but was simply a lay hermit†. The appearance of such men was not an unimportant feature in the solemnities of towns. Those who have resided in catholic cities may be often reminded of what F. Bonhours says of St. Francis Xavier, that when he used to leave his solitude, and come into the villages to

* Leben und Geschichte des Nikol von Fluë, by Weissenbach, cap. 6.

† Hist. des Français, Tom. IV. 317.

instruct the poor, no one doubted, after seeing him, but that it was a saint come from the desert to teach men the way to heaven. St. Jerome used to say, "let every one judge for themselves, but to me a town is a prison, and solitude a paradise*." This was said at a time before christianity had imparted a new character to cities; but yet even in those early ages, we find that holy anchorites in the desert still felt an interest in the cities of men; for one of the three questions respecting the earth, which St. Paul the hermit addressed to St. Anthony was, do men raise new edifices in the ancient cities†?

We find that these holy lovers of solitude did not disdain sometimes to take up their residence in the neighbourhood of cities. It is in a rocky ravine in the forest which comes near to the walls of Sarnen, that the little wooden hut and chapel may be seen where once lived that man of God whose prayers had cured the sick, stopped the flames, appeased feuds, and saved his country. Hermits were frequently to be found living close to the gates of populous towns; and as when a wandering lad, who goes forth to swim on a summer's morning, discovers with joy the beauteous lily, or some wild fragrant blossom, which floats free and odoriferous upon the cool blue waves, though close to the walls of a parched and unwholesome city; so was it sweet to find these men of pure and peaceful souls, devoted to holy contemplation, dwelling within a short distance of the towns which resounded day and night to the busy hum of the multitude, that followed the broad and unsequestered way. In the third century St. Parre withdrew from the city of Troyes, and retired into a country place in the neighbourhood, where he lived a most holy and austere life. This spot is pointed out by tradition in a field, which is not more than 300 paces from the city walls, where, till the revolution, stood the pious monastery of Foici, the origin of which name is thus related: "While St. Parre lived here in holy retreat, St. Savinien, a Greek from Samos, who after becoming a Christian had passed into Gaul, arrived at Troyes, and coming to the banks of the Seine, where he found this holy man, was received by him into his hermitage, and

* Epist. XCV.

† Lives of the Fathers of the Desert, Tom. I. 10.

perceiving that St. Parre and his servants were assiduous in prayer, and that the Christian faith was in their souls, he returned thanks to God that faith was here, and hence the place ever afterwards bore the name of Foy-icy, fidiacun a fide*." Even within the very heart of towns hermits were found to dwell. Recluses had their cells either in grottoes under the streets, or in towers surrounded by palaces, where they were devoted to constant prayer and meditation. Such is the history belonging to the cave at Royston, and, if we credit some authors, to the tower of Rolland in Paris. On the hill of St. Geneviève at Paris, lived the holy solitary priest, Dulciolenus, the friend of St. Eloi, whom that saintly silversmith used to visit frequently. It appears from titles of the abbey of St. Geneviève, that in this neighbourhood, in the thirteenth century, there was a street or road called from him, Vicus servi Dei†. In Florence, upon the bridge Allegrazie, lived certain holy women, recluses. At the present day, in each of the little lonely chapels or oratories in the neighbourhood, or even in the sequestered parts of Rome, you find a hermit who takes care of the holy place. There is generally one residing among the ruined arches of the Colosseum. We find indications too in our old literature, of solitary wise and benevolent men living secluded in cities, who used to be sought out as private arbiters and advisers, in all cases of difficulty, by the people. Thus in the Fabliau, the young man who is falsely accused of having stolen oil from the barrels left in his cellar, goes for advice to "a famous philosopher in the town, a good man, who lived according to God, and who employed his talents in succouring the unhappy." The annals of the city of Troyes make mention of a hermit, whose history is so wound up with its old towers, that it is impossible to disengage it from them. In the year 1419 died the good hermit, the blessed friar John of Gand, and was buried in the church of the Dominicans at Troyes, in a chest of wood, secured with bars of iron, in the south wall of the nave. His history was remarkable. During the calamities of France, consequent upon the wars with the English, and at the time when Charles VII. was struggling to defend his kingdom,

* Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 35.
† Lebeuf, Hist. Tom. I. II. c. I.

a hermit of St. Claude was raised up to give warning to men. This brother John of Gand was so called either from a certain noble family, which bears the surname of Gand, and which is of the neighbourhood of Troyes, which still boasts that this holy anchoret was of its blood, or else from the city of Ghent, in Flanders, of which he must have been a native. Be that as it may, he lived as a brother among the hermits on the mountain St. Claude, where many holy men led an angelic life: till moved by the calamities of France, he left his hermitage for a while, and travelled on till he arrived at the place where Charles VII. was to be seen, and entering his presence, he asked him, saying, "Sire, do you desire to have peace? it comes from God." And the king answering, "My good father, that is what I desire from my heart, if it please God to give it to me." Then the good hermit said, "Sire, since you desire peace, you shall have it, and God will grant you victory." Having thus spoken to the king of France, he went to the king of England, and proposed the same question to him, "Sire, do you desire to have peace?" The king answered haughtily, "No, and that he was resolved to conquer all the kingdom, and that the king of Bourges (for so he called Charles VII.) had nothing to gain from him." Then the hermit replied, "Sire, men propose and God disposes, for he is the sovereign master. It will not be as you say; but you should think of your end, which will soon overtake you." The king, naturally passionate, would have given stripes to the hermit, without respecting his habit; however he refrained, and let him depart. Now it is well known that Henry died shortly after, in 1421. But to return to our hermit: he continued to lead an austere life, with fasts and vigils, and practising both external and internal mortifications, so that it was wonderful how he surmounted all passions, and became so humble and patient; for even on beholding his effigy in white stone, which is on the spot where his bones repose, it is easy to judge that he had sanctity in his soul, and great grace from God. People used to style him the holy hermit of St. Claude, for every thing that he did and said was holy. Whenever he came into the city of Troyes, he used to lodge in the hostel of the Moors; or rather the good woman that kept this house, knowing his holy life, respected him, and used to give him lodging for the love of God, giving

him a little room in a retired part, that he might be without noise or any disturbance. From there he used to visit the convent of the Dominicans to hear mass, and because these friars were very holy men, and strict observers of their rules, he haunted them willingly, and wished to be buried with them, that he might not be separated in death from those whom he had loved when living. All this may be read in old Latin manuscripts in the treasury of these friars, though it is in a character very difficult to read from the continual abbreviations used. This holy man used thus to move about wherever the inspiration of God suggested an occasion of doing good to the souls of men. So on this occasion he was at Troyes, and in his usual lodging in the hostel of the Moors, and here he fell sick, and he knew immediately that God was about to draw him from this world to the other; he took no thought about what he should eat or drink, or about a physician or medicine, for it was a holy man, whose constant practice was to eat and drink but sparingly, speak but little, be always internally collected, and aspiring to God; so that now he only thought of God more ardently than ever, and expressed his wish to confess, and to receive the blessed sacrament for his viaticum. Now it happened at this time that there was in the same hostel a good old man, a venerable priest, named Messier Gautier Garnot, curate of Torvilliers, a village in the suburbs of Troyes, who on account of the wars, and the danger from insolent soldiers, had been obliged in his old age to take refuge within the walls of Troyes, whence he used to visit his flock as often as he could, and his retreat in the city was in this same hostel of the Moors, where he had his little room, for the woman that kept the house was his cousin-german. Thus this good hostess gave lodging to one for the love of God, because he was a holy man, and to another for the sake of humanity, because he was old and her relation. The priest then, hearing that brother John of Gand was lodged in the same hostel visited him, and they two used to speak together about holy things, and to encourage each other to serve God. When the hermit fell sick, he told him that he wished to confess for the last time, and to receive the precious body of his Saviour. This venerable priest, Garnot, went to find the curate of St. John, to whom he related the wish of the blessed hermit, who

gave him power forthwith to assist him to his end; for Garnot did not like to fail, on this last occasion, brother John of Gand, whom he so loved and respected; so he heard his confession, and administered to him the sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also extreme unction, and served him in all that he could; but Garnot was more consoled by the blessed brother John than he consoled him. So there, in that poor little room, after begging of Garnot that he might be buried with the friars preachers, this good man rendered up his soul to God, in evangelical poverty, great patience, human misery, sweet silence, and elevation of mind to God, as a poor stranger, who perchance was only stretched upon some straw in that little chamber. Thus he died on the 29th of September; but it was said, that immediately after his death, a supernatural light gleamed over that hostel, to show to all the world that the death of the saints is precious before God*.

This connection between hermits and the appearance of Christian cities, might naturally lead us to take notice of the scenery which generally surrounded them, for this was not without its characteristic features; and in the middle ages, when moral authority superseded, in a great measure, the necessity of the civil, no stranger was subject to be arrested and led away a prisoner if he attempted to walk beyond the gates of cities, without being able to produce a written pass; but every one was at liberty to enter and depart without molestation. "I am a lover of learning," said Socrates to one who proposed a philosophic dialogue in the fields, "trees and the country teach me nothing; but I look to men who live in the city. You then have discovered the secret to draw me out of the walls by offering to read to me, and presenting me with that written speech which I will follow wherever you go, like one of the cattle to whom you would offer provender, though you should lead me the circuit of Attica, or wherever else you wish †." Now, although Christians were, as we have already seen, naturally led to congregate in cities, in order to enjoy the resources of piety, and to exercise the duties of public adoration, which furnished far higher inducements for

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 387.

† Plato, Phædrus.

loving them than Socrates possessed, yet the Church, with her ingenious and creative discipline, discovered a way as it were to lead devout and affectionate disciples without the walls, as Phædrus prevailed on the Athenian sage, by presenting them with some new sustenance to strengthen a meditative and revering spirit, to follow which they would accompany her along the embowered bank of rivers, and to the summit of overhanging cliffs, which afforded delicious views of lakes and groves and undulating lawns, where she used to erect her oratories and crosses, and make her enclosures for holy retirement and prayer. Thus at Soleure, on the evening of Maunday Thursday, the inhabitants go out to the little hermitage of St. Verone, which stands in a delightful wood within a deep chasm of lofty mountains; it was made by an Egyptian in the seventeenth century. In the rock there is a sepulchre, and lamps are then lighted round it. Certainly no spot can be conceived more sad and fair. I remember to what a golden world of bright and peaceful images I used to be transported, when straying of a summer's morning without the walls of Soleure, immediately after the first mass in the churches of the town. There one might walk through delightful meadows interspersed with groves like a continued garden, watered with a number of clear rivulets, sparkling amidst violet beds, studded with beautiful convents, chapels, and crosses, with villas and pavilions adjoining. There one heard ascend through the clear air the sweet liquid symphony of the bells of the different monasteries, which are tolled at every elevation of the sacred mysteries, and these too seem to answer one another from hill to hill. There one saw the happy and courteous groups that passed along; the children, angel mild, intent upon some office of domestic duty, the cheerful scholar, so anxious to salute the stranger, and the venerable old men, whose smile is like a benediction; and if one entered to say a short prayer in the church of the convent, there would be seen at his devotions some noble proprietor of an adjacent castle, who always desired to be at the mass of that community. The humble little cloister too is open. See the poor devout prints which cover the walls, and the sweet flowers which grow within the little court; and through one of the small windows above you catch a glimpse of some holy friar, who is meditating in his

cell. What a peaceful and holy calm reigns all around! the groves and meadows, the gardens and the surrounding hills, seem to have imbibed the celestial tranquillity of the blessed enclosure. Even the walks around Florence are a delightful recollection; though along narrow roads, confined within scorching walls, which you excuse from the memory of that deed of grace rising out of them, which gave origin to Camoldoli, for as I walked on an evening among the hills which encompass it, near the delicious villa of Careggi, where Lorenzo de Medicis held the Platonic academy, I used to hear at the cottage doors the Kurie eleison from the tongue of children. But since we are already without the walls, let us pass on and depart, though it must be with painful impressions. Heresy, and the influence of its moral and philosophical doctrines, rather than wars and time, have nearly effaced the vestiges of early Christian history which existed in the cities of Europe. In England it has rendered our cities as bare of ancient memorials as our churches; and in France, what was preserved in Lyons, Troyes, Tours, and in other places from the rage of the Calvinists in former times, has been swept away in these latter days during the great revolution, when men were inspired with deadly hatred against even the inanimate monuments which recalled the events and personages of their former history. In the sacking of Rome, where so much still remains, the atrocities committed by the Lutheran soldiers of Charles V. surpassed all that had been committed by the Goths and barbarians, or by the Turks in other places. The venerable cities of Lombardy have remained nearly in the condition to which they were reduced by the philosophy of the unhappy Joseph, and the brutality of the Gallic invaders, who completed what he had begun. The tombs of the eastern scholars who promoted the study of Greek learning in the West, are covered over with military stores in the desecrated cloisters at Milan; and the tumults of barbarous legions seem to leave no other interest to Mantua but its imperishable name.

The celebrated apartment of Troy, covered with the paintings of Mantegna and Julio Romano, representing scenes from the Iliad, is now a granary. The Mantua of the middle ages could boast of her Julio Romano and of those illustrious Gonzagues, who declared that it was

the painter who was her sovereign; now her cloisters are converted into barracks, and her sole ornament is a military parade. The Luitprands and Othos of the middle ages had erected at Pavia and aggrandized the mausoleum of Boecius, in the church of St. Augustin, for which Gerbert had composed the inscription: but the sophists of the last century suppressed the church, which is now filled with military provisions; and when I desired to be shown his sepulchre, I could only have the consolation of learning at which side of the nave it stood, for it was buried deep under an impervious store of hay. The refectory of the Dominicans, in which is the divinest painting of Leonardo, the convent which possessed one of the oldest churches of Milan, St. Eustorgius, which contains the tomb of Emanuel Chrysolorus, and the shrine of St. Peter Martyr, are abandoned to the service of a barrack. In one church there is the office of the Lottery, in another a theatre, in another a custom-house. So lost are men at present to those feelings and sentiments of nature recognized by Seneca, when he says, that one has regard for demolished temples, of which persons of religion adore and venerate even the ruins.

Without referring to those shattered fallen cities on which the hand of time seems the heaviest laid, such as Ravenna, with its towers, round, square, leaning, broader at summit than at base, with its palaces of races that are extinct, and its monuments of an empire that has long perished, there are few at least in the northern countries, which do not impress irresistibly every beholder with the idea that they are the cities of other days and of another race of men, and which do not remind him of the poet's sentence "Debemur morti nos nostraque." Even where the ancient spirit continues to animate the people, the intellectual glories of the ages of faith are found to be too mighty not to obscure all claims to present greatness. To one conversant with history, even the gay and brilliant and devout Florence seems but like a sepulchre and city of the dead; for on what can the stranger's thoughts remain fixed, excepting on the city of the Medicis? There he sees their wondrous gallery of incalculable treasures, the accumulation of years, and wealth, and pains unceasing; there he finds their rich stores of collected learning, their libra-

ries and their cabinets. There he visits their once gay and palmy villas on Careggi's height, whose walls heard the Platonic mixed with Christian lore, and it was there Lorenzo died; there he may descend into the vaults of that gorgeous chapel, where every vein of marble which the earth produces pays a tribute; and there lie the bodies of that great majestic line whose memory makes Florence a city of the muses. There, too, is the house of Michael Angelo, in which every thing remains as if he had walked out but yesterday; and there you may gaze upon the seat of the awful Dante hard by the dome which he so dearly loved; but lo! in that cloister of the Holy Cross you see the tombs of all these wondrous men whose works surround you, or the trophy that tells you they are dead. Pisa, too, with its vast deserted streets, speaks to you only of other days, when the Campo Santo was not a museum for the connoisseur, or a royal and exclusive cemetery, but a holy field for the faithful dead, and when men went not to criticise, or to admire, but to tremble and to pray. Bologna and Padua only remind you of the genius and the learning of ancient days. Ferrara, with her majestic castle, noble palaces, and solemn cloisters recalls the image of her princes and of the poets who gave them renown. Genoa of its Dorias. Urbino of its incomparable court, described by Castiglione. Rome alone seems invested with an interest which is present and eternal; and yet, amidst the astonishing concentration of present intellectual greatness there, who, standing upon that awful ground, can avoid thinking of the past, and yielding to its immortal recollections? The approach to Rome is precisely what it ought to be. Nothing can be imagined more sublime, more proper to inspire meditation, and to fill the soul with the profoundest emotions of wonder for the past and of pious astonishment and reverence for the everlasting Ruler, than a view of the vast and solemn plains of the Campagna, in which the history of the world seems written in ruins, where no object appears but here and there some isolated fragment of an arched aqueduct or of a sepulchre, some aged cork tree or some spreading pine, near which shepherds are seen sitting together round a fire by night, keeping watch over their flocks. The thronged and noisy suburbs of a modern capital would belong to an order of ideas to

which you would there deny admittance, for they would indicate too much of worldly solicitude to be in accordance with what naturally fills the breast of the Christian pilgrim as he approaches Rome. It is as much as he can sustain to look upon the delicious retreats of Albano, when he remembers that it was through that villa of pleasure that the chosen vessel was led bound to Rome. Whether it was the result of care, exclusively employed on the adornment of cities, within which every interest induced men to dwell, or from motives of convenience and of security, which prompted the inhabitants to desire the immediate neighbourhood of forests and deserts, it is certain that the scenery which surrounded many cities of the middle ages, corresponded with the wildest and the highest tone. How solemn is that approach to Pisa, over the ground which was the scene of Ariosto's ghastly chace! where following a lonely track through a vast sandy plain, on which rise a few tall pines, you find them growing in closer contact, till at length you are within an immense forest, through which you see at intervals wild cattle and buffaloes grazing over vast desert tracts which extend to the Mediterranean; and then on proceeding you behold rising over the forest the vast domes of the cathedral and baptistry, with the mysterious tower, which stands as others fall. Who has not heard of that sombre forest of pines which conceals Ravenna from the sea, like a funeral veil thrown by nature over the ruins of the fallen city; a forest celebrated in the annals of history; wonderful among the scenes of nature; dear to poets, since it was sung by Dante and by Dryden! I first beheld it on a summer's evening, when I had walked out by the Porta Nuova, and had reached the bridge about half a mile from the city, over the united streams of the Ronco and Montone, on whose banks fell the slaughtered French, when, under Gaston de Foix, they encountered the lance of Spain. The road being raised very high, commands an extensive view of the plain, the vast solitary Basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe, the sole vestige of a Roman city, which was destroyed by Luitprand the Lombard king in the eighth century, forming the only object till the eye reaches the distant forest. I shall never forget the feeling with which I beheld it, and gazed upon its vast and solemn line, which was only broken at intervals by the broad

top of some more elevated stem, which rose above the horizon. A pale moon had just risen over it in a blue heaven, but towards the west a deep range of clouds gave index of a storm. At the same moment a vast flight of cranes traversed the sky, coming from the Adriatic, and reminded me of a sublime passage, in which Dante describes their clamorous course, which I repeated with an additional degree of interest, as I returned to the ancient city.

In England, too, we have cities, the approach to which is in the highest degree calculated to inspire meditation, such as Ely and Lincoln, rising majestic over the watery wastes which surround them, and Salisbury, encompassed with that vast plain, to which Stonehenge gives so mysterious an interest. But having now taken a general view of the Christian cities, it will be necessary to go into more detail, and to examine the particular history of the most remarkable edifices with which faith adorned them; and the construction of churches will furnish abundant matter for our next inquiries, relative to the evidence of the fulfilment of that divine sentence, which affirmed that the meek will possess the earth.

CHAPTER II.

The number of beautiful monuments, with which faith covered the soil of Europe, has been the delight and astonishment of men of genius in the latter ages, when the probability or consequence of their overthrow was contemplated. How richly adorned England was in this respect, is recorded by Strype, Leland, Dugdale, Tanner, and other historians, who speak of the destruction which attended the first establishment of heresy. In Ireland it has only left ruins, which appear thickly scattered over the country, so as to make it resemble the Campagna of Rome. In Spain there are more than seventy thousand great churches; there were no less than a thousand raised in the reign of King Don Jaïme I. of Arragon alone. A late French writer makes some interesting remarks, to show how France was formerly co-

vered with beautiful monuments of an architecture which showed a free and boundless imagination. It is calculated that there were thirty thousand churches, fifteen hundred abbeys, eighteen thousand five hundred chapels, two thousand eight hundred priories, one million seven hundred thousand steeples, and as to every twelve steeples may be supposed one castle, there would be seven thousand fortified towns, giving a total of one million eight hundred and seventy-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-six monuments, without reckoning the basilicas, monasteries, royal and episcopal palaces, and town halls, contained within cities. Certainly, adds Chateaubriand, this was a soil very differently ornamented from what it is at present. Remark, too, that the religious, civil, and military architecture of these ages rose aloft and struck the eyes, unlike the modern, which is flat and levelled, like the ranks of our social state. Will our age, he asks, leave such a testimony of its passage? We have no longer the faith which moved so many stones. We raise exchanges, bazars, coffee houses, club houses. How will philosophy be able to compare accounts with religion? The moderns, who look to practical advantages, cannot conceive on what ground the multiplication of churches and chapels could have been required. Stamford and Gloucester, and the ancient city of London, are instances which seem perfectly inexplicable to them; but the reason is obvious to all who have knowledge of the ancient religion; for within cities there was a necessity arising out of its very principles for erecting churches at short distances from each other, in which the divine mysteries might be celebrated, in order that the merchant, the tradesman, the labourer, and the servant, might be able to assist at them every morning without loss of time or interruption to their other duties; and also to give the same facility to infirm persons who could not have gone far from their houses: and it required that these monuments should be multiplied in the country to afford a similar assistance to persons engaged in agriculture, whose interests were not forgotten in the original laying out of the ecclesiastical divisions, as appears from consulting those of the dioceses of France, which had remained the same from the reigns of Honorius and Clovis till the revolution. The attention of religious men to the spiritual interests

of poor shepherds, gave rise to chapels and oratories in the wildest and most romantic spots of uncultivated nature. On the high Alp of the Surinam Pass, I found a little chapel with a bell in which mass is occasionally said for the poor herdsmen who resort to those high regions in the summer months. In the ninth century, we read of oratories being constructed on the mountains for the monks of St. Benedict, who used to depute a certain number of their society to watch the flocks on the high pastures during the fine season*; and, in the most retired valleys of Savoy, under impending glaciers, you find some humble sanctuary, which like that at Argentiere, proclaims its object, by an inscription, to be the safety of the poor. But there was still another reason why the Church loved to multiply her chapels, oratories, crosses, and places of pilgrimage, and place them amidst the woods and mountains. It was to make men love the Author, while they admired the works of nature. She knew too well the propensity of wretched mortals to be occupied incessantly with creatures, and to depart from him who made them, and she sought by the erection of material monuments, symbols and memorials of religious truth, to make the whole life of man a continued hymn or act of praise to God. The recollections of every traveller who has visited a Catholic country will bear testimony to the wisdom of this discipline, and even history itself has been obliged in many instances to record its effects. During the dreadful storm which so dismayed the English army under King Edward, after leaving Rheims, it is said, that the troops and the King himself looked upon it as a mark of God's wrath, and that at the same moment the king, turning towards the church of Chartres, whose lofty tower rose in the distance, made a vow to consent to peace. The Archduke Leopold of Austria, on his journeys, used always to salute the patrons of the different churches that he passed, and in this manner the whole face of a country was like a book which recalled a thousand holy images to inspire devout meditation, and to confirm salutary thoughts. St. Gregory of Tours says, that on the banks of the river Garonne, and contiguous to the castle

* Mabillon, Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. Sæc. IV. Pars I. Vita S. Bened.

Blaviensis, there is the tomb of a holy Roman priest, and it is said, that when the sailors have been in danger of perishing, they have been saved by imploring his prayers, and they think no one can perish who contemplates his church from the midst of the waters. On one occasion, he adds, during our passage across, we believe that we experienced the benefit of his suffrage *. With respect to the origin of these edifices, it is certain that the first Christians had their churches, for the Apostle St. Paul distinguishes them from other houses; and St. Ignatius the martyr in the first century exhorts the Magnesians to assemble in a place which is named "the temple of God," and in his Epistle to the Philadelphians he says, "There is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup in union of his blood, one altar, and one bishop, with the priest, and deacons, my fellow-servants," and Tertullian at the end of the second century, speaks of the Church to which Christians resort, and the house of God †. Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluni, says, that when he was at Rome he saw in the ancient crypts, the oratories and altars which had been raised by the Christians in the time of the Apostles ‡. At the present day, these are the places visited with most awe and astonishment by the devout strangers. In the catacombs, we behold the first churches of the eternal city. In the year 1812, a chapel of the primitive Christians was discovered in the palace of Nero, when excavations were made among the ruins of the baths of Titus. The persecution of Diocletian commenced with the demolition of the churches which the Christians had erected for the first time in public places under the Emperors Alexander and Gordien; and the final triumph of the cross when the empire became Christian under Constantine, was marked by the restoration and erection of churches. In that of the Lateran Palace, which had been an imperial residence, Rome for the first time beheld the image of the Saviour. The lowest of the two churches, at present subterraneous under the church of St. Martin, was built by Pope St. Silvester, in the time of Constantine. It is supported by vast square columns

* De Gloria Confessorum, cap. 46.

† Benedict. XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ, sect. I. 6.

‡ Contra Petrobrusianos Hæret. Epist.

of brick, and it resembles exactly the Roman work in the Basilica of Constantine in the forum. The image of our Lady is represented in mosaique, without that of the Divine Infant, and the Pope is on his knees in the act of imploring her intercession. Chateaubriand made the remark at Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, where are seen churches of the age of Constantine, that these ancient churches had a character of gravity and grandeur which the Pagan monuments of the same age did not possess *. In that age the Christians erected magnificent temples in their cities and in Nicomedia, but others had been preserved from earlier times. In Spain, the Church of our Lady, at Zaragosa, is said to have been erected in her life-time. The holy bishops delighted in consecrating to God that beauty and splendour which had been so long devoted to the service of demons. St. Gregory Nyssen is astonished at the superb temple of the martyr Theodore, which with golden arches and cerulean tablets impels the mind to the contemplation of eternal beauty †. St. Cyril praises the splendour of the temple which the emperors had built at Jerusalem; nor does St. Chrysostom overlook the arched temple of prodigious height, incrusted with marble, in which they used to assemble ‡. At the close of the third century, the blessed Patiens, Bishop of Lyons, built in that city a most splendid church of marble and gold, which Sidonius Apollinaris commends in verse to all posterity: there were precious stones and variegated marbles to adorn it §. In the third and fourth centuries, the splendour of the Spanish churches was very considerable. It appears that the church of St. Eulalia, at Merida, was ornamented with magnificent columns, beautiful marbles, and lofty towers. The irruption, however, of the barbarians destroyed entirely that splendour. They inundated Spain in 409; but in other countries many churches survived their fury. After the overthrow of the empire, and the conversion of the barbarians, it was not at first possible to erect churches of similar magnificence. In the tenth century, the architects were unable to re-

* Les Martyrs, Liv. V.
† Op. Tom. III. p. 578; Tom. II. p. 41.
‡ Tom. V. Serm. 16.
§ Sidon. Apol. Leg. II. Epist. 10.

build the church of the Theban legion which had been destroyed by fire, so as to equal its former beauty *. The church of St. Stephen the greater at Milan, having been burnt in the eleventh century and rebuilt, an inscription was placed on it which began by extolling the superior grandeur of the former church, and then proceeded,—

——— Collapsum surgit ab imo ;
Sed primi cultum nequit æquiparare secundum :
Plebs spectando time : peccatum causa ruinæ,
Te prius ædifices, tunc materiale reformes,
Sit templum Domini, placet illi fabrica templi.

The church of St. Martin at Tours, before the tenth century, was encrusted with red, green, and white marbles, and even the exterior was adorned with gold and beautiful stones. Old men in the time of St. Odo, who had seen it before its destruction by fire, used to say, that when the building was seen against the sun it resembled a mountain of gold †. The first churches erected by the barbarian invaders were greatly inferior to those of the ancient empire. Among a rude people it would be in vain to expect beauty of architecture. It was related of St. Patrick, that he built a church of clay alone in a plain in Connactia, which resisted all the inclemency of wind, and snow, and rain. It is an error, however, to suppose, that the Anglo-Saxons had only churches of wood. In the year 626, King Edwin had ordered a church to be built of timber, which was hallowed in the name of St. Peter, but "there he afterwards ordered a larger church to be built of stone ‡." In the year 1020, King Knute ordered to be built at Assingdon, a minster of stone and lime, and the church of Peterborough was built of stone in 656. In the year 710, Naiton, King of the Picts, sent ambassadors to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow monastery, requesting him to send architects into Scotland to build a church of stone there, after the manner of the Romans, which he wished to

* De Combust. Basil. Bibliothec. Cluniacensis, 158.
† Id. 146.
‡ The Saxon Chronicle by Ingram, p. 33.

dedicate to the prince of the Apostles. Ceolfrid sent him in return a long letter of advice, and also architects for the above purpose, and a quantity of his glass to glaze the windows; for his predecessor holy Benedict had established glass works on the Tyne which continue to the present day. But the Christian Church could not long exert her influence without producing that civilization which developed itself in the arts as well as in learning and manners; and accordingly the rise of a new and most beautiful architecture followed soon after the re-establishment of society under the northern tribes. Even in Italy, in the eleventh century, the small but beautiful church of the holy Apostles at Florence, which was the model followed by Brunelleschi in raising the churches of St. Laurence, and of the Holy Ghost, proves that the good rules of architecture were not unknown in Tuscany in the tenth century. St. Bernard relates that when St. Malachy began to rebuild the abbey of Bangor, in Ireland, "he was of opinion that such a stone oratory ought to be built there, as he had seen in other countries; and when he began to work, the natives admiring it, because such structures had not till then been seen in that country, said, O good man, why have you thought fit to bring this new fashion into our country. We are Scots, not Frenchmen. What lightness is this? What need is there of such superfluous work and so magnificent? How will your poverty afford the expense of finishing, and who will live to see it finished?" The choir built was so beautiful, that the abbey was called in consequence Banchor, or the beautiful choir, for before it had been called the Vale of Angels. Among the most remarkable gothic churches built between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries, which remain, for many of the abbey churches destroyed both in England and France, were equal, if not superior, to our present cathedrals *, are the cathedrals of Winchester, Canterbury, and York, the churches of Westminster and Bristol, in England; that of Sainte Croix, at Orleans; the cathedrals of Chartres, Paris, Rheims, and Amiens, in France; in Germany the church of Halberstadt, the Elisabethskirche at Marburg, the church of

* Tanner, Notitia Monastica (Preface.)

Ulm, and the cathedrals of Vienna and Cologne; and in Italy, the cathedrals of Pisa, Sienna, Milan, the Carthusian church at Pavia, and the church of St. Petronio at Bologna. When, in the prophetic language of the sacred scripture, God threatens to punish a people, he declares that he will take away those that are wise in building and the prudent in mystic sentences *. This judgment had not overtaken the nations in the middle ages, when these stupendous and mystic piles were erected to the glory of the eternal God, of which almost every stone is a symbol full of saintly wisdom. What acute and skilful men were those who raised at Paris the church of St. Paul; at Arras, the church of St. Wast; at Albi, the cathedral of St. Cecilia; at Rouen, the church of St. Ouen and the Palace of Justice; at Rheims, the church of the abbey of St. Nicaise, which was so celebrated for its trembling pillar, which used visibly to oscillate whenever a bell in that tower was tolled †; at Milan, that cathedral; at Amboise, that castle of Charles VIII. with its vast round towers, containing staircases by which men on horseback could mount and descend; at Westminster, that hall of state whose roof is still the astonishment of mechanicians! What boldness, and imagination, and skill, were here testified. Assuredly there was enough to fire with emulation Ictinus himself; and with justice was Ferracino the Venetian compared to Archimedes in the inscription on his tomb at Solagna. The history of their scaffolding attests an astonishing perfection of mechanical science. At the building of the cathedral of Pisa, by means of the machines invented by Buschetto, weights which a thousand oxen could hardly have moved, were raised by ten young maidens, as a tablet in the church still testifies. Could these be ages of intellectual stagnation and ignorance as they are styled by those moderns who are themselves proficients only in the architecture of fortune? The works themselves would prove a prodigious advance in science, and indicate a most delicate sense of the beautiful and sublime. But even the writings of these ages explain with what profound and accurate views they were constructed. Thus Vincent of Beauvais, who clearly had a knowledge

* Isai. cap. iii. † Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Liv. III. 67.

of perspective, and of its application in the representation of objects *, coming to treat upon the parts of architecture, shows what attention is due to symmetry, and proportion, and harmony of members, to disposition, and collocation, and elegance of composition, to invention, and tempering of parts with regard to the effect of the whole, that the edifice may have solidity, usefulness, and beauty, and he says that to an architect both nature, and learning, and practice, are essential †. In fact, when men ask for evidence of the intellectual cultivation of the middle ages, though one might refer to the imperishable writings of their true philosophers, yet it is sufficient to bid them look upon the monuments of their architecture. Behold the tranquil grandeur of a gothic cathedral, a vast symphony as it were of stone, to use the language of Victor Hugo, colossal work of a man, and of a people, one and yet complex like the Iliads of which it is the sister, a kind of human creation, powerful and fruitful, seeming to have attained the double character of divine creation, variety and eternity. Behold within it those myriads of statues which peopled all the inter-columnization of the nave and choir, images on their knees, on foot, on horseback, men, women, children, bishops, kings, warriors, in stone, in marble, in gold, in silver, in brass, even in wax, now in France and England, brutally swept away by men of a false taste. Behold, how these walls harmonize with that gothic altar, splendidly loaded with reliquaries and shrines, for which a cold simplicity or an unmeaning parade of allegory has been substituted. Gothic architecture has suffered three kinds of degradation; first, that caused by time; then that caused by political or religious revolutions, during which men have fallen on its different parts with savage fury; and lastly, that arising from modern taste, which has caused more ruin than even revolutions, cutting up and disorganizing the edifice, and killing it in form as in symbol, in its logic as in its beauty, and then restoring it with those contemptible and stupid decorations which are supposed to indicate a simple and pure taste." That the erection of these magnificent churches cannot be ascribed to any ordinary cause or mere natural

* Speculum Doctrinale, Liv. XVIII. c. 43.
† Id. Lib. X. c. 14, 15.

principle will appear most evident on a reference to the history of their construction. How, it is usual to ask, were these prodigious edifices raised? It would defy the known resources of any nation at the present day, that has felt the influence of the modern philosophy, to erect one of them. Indeed, so sensible are their sophists of this fact, that they convert it into an argument which they suppose will prove the intellectual superiority of their own times; for they ridicule the desire which they ascribe to our ancestors of giving form and substance to the objects of thought, as being a sentiment belonging to dark ages, and a half cultivated people, grossly ignorant of the pure and primitive loveliness of truth. Such is the inference that one Scottish writer draws from the erection of so many monasteries and magnificent churches in the middle ages.

The history of their construction exposes three sources which supplied the means required—consisting in the devotion of the multitude, in the munificence of kings and religious orders and particular families, and in the substitution of such works instead of the ancient canonical penance. All these, it is obvious, must be referred to the faith of the people; and they will be found fully adequate to explain the phenomenon, without calling into our assistance the motive of heathen or modern times, which might lead men to build like the Syracusans, in order, as Thucydides says, *ὑπό τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔπειτα πολὺ θαυμασθήσεσθαι**; though, as has been acknowledged, it will still remain a matter of wonder to know the economy with which churchmen divided these revenues, taking into consideration the prodigious expences required for the support of such a multitude of churches, hermitages, seminaries, colleges, hospitals, and monasteries, besides what was expended in the maintenance of the clergy and a great number of laymen, and what was required by the state. To witness the first cause in operation we need only open the first ecclesiastical chronicle which presents itself; and the passage I have selected is remarkable as showing that the building of churches was then begun with the same reliance upon Providence which has inspired so many venerable priests in these islands, of late years,

* Lib. VII. 56.

to commence the erection of chapels. Fulcuin, in his History of the Abbots of Lobes, relates that "there was a great assembly of people on the spot where their new church was to be built; and such was their devotion, that no one can describe it. With the money then offered by the people, the church," he says, "is marked out and begun: 'quando vel à quo erit perficienda, in Dei est providentia *.' " To account for the sufficiency of these oblations of the people, which were either diurnal or hebdomadal, it should be remembered that the laborious and simple tenor of their lives enabled them to have always some supply beyond what was required by their domestic wants. When the church of St. Jacques-du-haut-Pas, at Paris, was to be built, it was the piety of high and low which accomplished the undertaking. The duchesse de Longueville gave money; the owners of quarries supplied, free of expence, all the stone, and the workmen employed in building gave each one day every week †. To effect the incrustation of marble in the church of Loretto, which alone cost about 300,000 crowns, the carvers gave their work gratis. The chapter-house and the sacristy of the convent of the Carthusians at Paris, had been built at the expense of Pierre Loisel, a shoemaker in the fourteenth century, whose device, representing a boot, was carved there ‡. When Suger rebuilt the abbey of St. Denis, he assembled the most skilful workmen and artists from all parts of the kingdom. In procuring marble from Pontoise, the zeal of the people left him nothing to expend. Every one thought to receive a blessing from Heaven if he had part in the holy work. Suger was the chief architect. When the most intelligent persons had declared their opinions that there was no timber fit for the work within sixty leagues of St. Denis, the abbot went himself into the forest of Chevreuse, and sought so well, that he found a sufficient quantity, which he had cut in his presence. He discovered a method to enable them to work at it through the winter, so that the building was finished in three or four years. The king and all his court, with

* Fulcuinus de Gestis Abbatum Lobiensium apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. VI. 579.

† St. Victor, Tableau de Paris. Tom. III. 435.

‡ Id. Tom. IV. 336.

a number of bishops, had assisted at laying the first stone, and blessing the place. Each had laid a stone, while the monks chaunted the 86th Psalm, "Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis:" and when the choir came to the usual words of the ceremony, "Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui," the king took a ring of great value from his finger, and threw it upon the foundations, and all the nobles did the same; so that a magnificent church might have been built with the price of the jewels cast into the trenches *. In the year 1099, when the Ginsonense church in the bishopric of Urgel was consecrated, most of her parishioners offered voluntarily to pay the tenth of their fruits. In the year 1210, when the cathedral of Reims was destroyed by fire, owing to the negligence of some plumbers, the canons had recourse to the usual method of gaining a supply. Certain of their number, bearing the relics of the church and apostolic bulls, set out, accompanied by all the clergy, who conducted them as far as the gates of the city, chaunting the Psalms. The people continued to follow them as far as the nearest town, where, in the first place, they deposited the sacred relics in the church, and then, from a tribune erected on the outside over the door, they harangued the assembled multitude, who came forward to relieve their necessities. Then they visited other places with the same form; and the collection was so considerable, that, in the year after the fire, the chapter of Reims was able to undertake the rebuilding of the church on a more extensive scale than before. Robert de Couci of Reims was the architect. It was finished after thirty years. The canons first sung the office in it in the year 1241 †.

The Pisans erected their cathedral with the spoils which they had won from the Saracens. Men conceived that by these works they testified faith and piety to God. Hence, some are owing to sudden dangers, in which persons pledged themselves to come forward, with pious liberality, to found or restore churches; for in these ages many men deserved the character which is ascribed

* Hist. de Suger, Lib. VI.

† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Liv. II. 351.

to Anspert, the illustrious archbishop of Milan, in the ninth century, on whose tomb we read—

Effector voti, propositique tenax.

Thus, in the eleventh century, when the little fleet of Norman knights was passing the dangerous gulf of Messina, in order to regain the coast of Calabria, a violent tempest came on. The church of St. Anthony at Reggio had been lately overthrown by an earthquake. Roger and his soldiers promised to devote to its reconstruction all the booty which they were carrying, that had been won from the Saracens. On their arrival in that city, they faithfully discharged their vow. The foundation of the illustrious Basilica of St. John the Evangelist, at Ravenna, is due to a vow made by Galla Placidia, in the year 424, during a tempest, as she was returning from Constantinople with her two sons, Valentinian and Honorius; and this event is there represented in mosaique.

As you leave Ravenna by the Roman gate, the lofty tower of a solitary church rises above the barren plain, far in the distance towards the sea. You approach and find the interior walls painted by Giotto. This is St. Maria in Porto, built by Peter,—surnamed, through his humility, the Sinner,—of the noble family of the Onesti, in pursuance of a vow during a storm at sea, in the year 1096. The body of the founder lies there.

Many votive chapels on our own wild shores might be mentioned, which have no other origin than a similar engagement. Others have an heroic as well as a pious origin. In the year 1142, the troops commanded by the brave Galician, Don Muno Alfonso, made a vow to give to the church of St. Mary of Toledo, the tenth of the spoils which they should take from the combined armies of Cordova and Seville: this they did after gaining the battle.

There are in Spain some churches, which by reason of some especial vow, receive taxes from certain towns, whose inhabitants, grateful for the benefit received from God through the intercession of some saints, made themselves tributary, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of their gratitude. The two most famous offerings are

those of the vows of St. Billan and St. James. When Don Bamiro I. obtained that glorious victory at Clavijo which was to free his vassals from the infamous tribute of the one hundred maids, he made himself tributary to the church of St. James, through whose intercession he ascribed it, the army having begun the battle with the cry of St. James. And in the year 938, the king of Leon having conquered, in a famous battle, the great Abderamen, king of Cordova, with the Mahometan princes of Africa and an army of 200,000 men, and Count Fernan Gonzalez having completed their overthrow, the count and his people bound themselves by solemn vows to pay a tribute to the church of St. Billan.

The magnificent baptistery at Pisa, built in the twelfth century, was raised by the voluntary contributions of one florin from every family in Pisa. Parma heard of this, and her baptistery arose—a monument of that good contention of which the oldest Greek poet speaks in his works and days. When the cathedral of Como was building, besides the abundant alms of the people, all who belonged to certain fraternities of trades, and desired the right of citizenship, were required to pay a certain sum towards it *. The wonderful arcade which crosses hills and valleys, connecting the church of our Lady on the mountain, three miles from the gate of Bologna, with the city, was built in this manner; different families, religious associations, and trades, taking upon them to raise a certain number of arches, over which their names are generally inscribed. Thus some are stated to have been built by a certain number of soldiers, others by some fishermen, others by some strangers contributing to the work with one heart. All professions and trades are there mentioned. Tragedians, booksellers, scholars, boatmen, shoemakers, some pious coachmen of the city, a company of one hundred and twenty servants, the poor by alms. Some are raised by families, such as the Belloni, Dolfi; and others by single individuals, as Count Philip Bentivoglio, Count Charles Ranuzzi, and others. The canons of the cathedral, the master of music of the chapel in the Basilica of St. Pe-

* Storia della Cattedrale di Como, 59.

tronio, and a number of religious associations, contributed, and all from the motive often formally expressed, namely, out of devotion. This work was performed in the last century: for ages make no difference in the spirit of the faithful.

In the year 1389, Nicolas Flamel, a scrivener, and his wife Pernelle, built one of the arcades of the charnel-house of the Holy Innocents at Paris: many other citizens contributed to this as to a work of religion, and their arms or initials were carved over the vaults. Nicolas Boulard was particularly distinguished as one of these pious citizens. The inscription upon one vault stated that it was built by Pierre Potier, furrier and citizen of Paris, in honour of God and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the blessed saints of paradise, "pour mettre les ossemens des trespasses. Priez Dieu pour lui et pour les trespasses." In addition, Flamel built at his expence the portal of the church of St. Jacques-de-la-Boucherie. The inscription stated that this portal was built in honour of God by one of the parishioners and his wife, in the year of grace, 1388. "Pray for the benefactors of this," it added, "and for all others who have business in it, if you please." This whole church was built with the alms of pious people. It was demolished in the Revolution, but the tower was saved by the artifice of an architect, who besought the mob to spare it, in imitation, as he said, of the enlightened English, who had pulled down their churches indeed, but had always converted the tower into a manufactory of shot. M^me^. de Sevigne gives a description of the crowds that used to assemble in this church to hear the sermons of Bourdaleu, on the site of which are now the shops of Jews, who trade in worn garments. Besides the portal, Flamel is supposed to have built one of the columns of the nave; for it was usual that pious people should thus undertake to raise one or more pillars of a church. Flamel was also the chief contributor to building the portal of the church of St. Geneviève-la-Petite, in 1402, on which the inscription stated that it was built with the alms of many persons, though Flamel's figure alone was carved upon it. He also built at his expence the chapel of the hospital of St. Gervais, the walls of which were covered with images of saints

and crosses; and Flamel himself was represented on his knees *.

After the destruction of the abbey church of St. Tron, when the abbot Rodulphus was almost in doubt of being able to rebuild it, from his desolation and poverty, God inspired a certain matron of our town, by name Ruzela, says the chronicler, who at her own expence began to build, and completed one pillar. A certain bailiff of the place followed her example, and finished another; and after them our townspeople, at their own expence, began four pillars, and left two of them imperfect. The abbot perceiving what was the will of God, girded himself to the work, and in a short time both walls of the nave were raised to the proper height †. The great church of St. Riquier, in the eleventh century, having been half destroyed, to the indescribable grief of the people, it was resolved, in order to procure assistance, that the venerable relics of St. Richarius, the patron of the monastery, should be carried to the neighbouring castles, that the devout people might be moved to make gifts for the foundation of a new church. The day arrived, and the Count Wido came with many nobles, attended with a vast multitude, to behold the spectacle. With cross and banners, and tapers burning, the body of the saint was borne along; but the devout people could not endure that it should be carried beyond the town of the abbey, thinking that it would be an eternal disgrace to suffer it. So that early the next morning the body was brought back with such joy and triumph, that no one can express it; and then, the people being all assembled, with a prompt mind gave many gifts to restore the church, which offerings are thus related:—

> Vaccas atque boves et equos, et oves tribuerunt,
> Cappas, mantellos, anulos, vittasque, tiaras;
> Cingula, cultellos, manicas, caligasque dederunt,
> Auribus appensum tribuuntque monile puellæ.

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* Hist. Critique de Nicolas Flamel et de Pernelle sa femme, p. 32—113.

† Chronic. Abbatiæ S. Trudonis, Lib. X. p. 471, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. VII.

Sed nostri cives argenti pondera pensant,
Librarum solidos quam multos undique donant,
Rusticus hordea dat, multorum cœtus avenam,
Plures dant brasium, vinum plerique dederunt.
Ex his thesaurus fit mercibus amplior unus,
Quem numerare nequit, vel si quis compota novit.

"By God's assistance," continues the chronicler, "a new church is begun from the foundations; and by the daily gifts of good men, the fabric rises, the inhabitants more fervently urging one another, that no one should seem inferior to another in giving assistance. Thanks be to God, we now behold it raised on a stronger foundation, and to a loftier height than ever *."

In England, during the ages of faith, we see the same process in operation. After the dreadful fire, caused by the carelessness of a plumber, which destroyed the abbey of Crowland, in the time of Ingulphus, the charity of people far and near was excited towards the monks. The Bishop of Lincoln gave forty marcs of silver and forty days of indulgence to all who would do them service. Richard de Rulos, Lord of Brunne and Depyny, made liberal presents as an ancient friend, and proved, in time of calamity. The people gave money and provisions, fat hogs, and beans, and corn, and oxen. "Nor must we forget," says the Monk, "among so many benefactors, Juliana, a poor old woman of holy memory at Weston, who out of her poverty gave us all her living, namely, some yarn and spinning thread to make vestments for the brethren of our monastery. Multitudes gave the labour of their hands, taking it in turn to serve one day every month till all was finished †." Legacies are on record of various persons who left money towards rebuilding the tower of the abbey of St. Edmund's, at Bury. Thus on one beautiful tower of a Franciscan convent between Pisa and Florence, I saw inscribed "Pietas fidelium, 1826." In the year 1450 the convent of the Franciscans at Rheims was destroyed by fire, and in the following year it was rebuilt at the expence of a widow, whose name has remained un-

* Chronic. Centulensis sive S. Richarii, Lib. IV. cap. 36. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IV.

† Hist. Ingulphi, p. 99.

known *. It is a tradition that the cloth-fullers were the founders of the church of St. Paul at Paris. In the tower there was a window on which they were represented at work in their trade †. The second source of supply for the erection of churches, has been stated to have been the munificence of kings, and religious orders, and noble families; and of this we have an early instance in the Saxon chronicle. "In the year 655, when Peada was king of the Mercians, came together himself and Oswy, brother of king Oswald, and said that they would rear a minster to the glory of Christ and the honour of St. Peter. And they did so; and gave it the name of Medhamsted," (which is now Peterborough.) "And they began the ground wall and wrought thereon; after which they committed the work to a monk, whose name was Saxulf. He was very much the friend of God, and him also loved all people: he was nobly born in the world and rich; he is now much richer with Christ. After the death of this king, his brother Wulfhere, who succeeded, loved Medhamsted for the love of his brother Peada, and for the love of Oswy, and for the love of Saxulf the abbot; and he said therefore that he would dignify and honour it. Then sent the king after the abbot, that he should immediately come to him, and he did so. Then said the king to the abbot, 'Beloved Saxulf, I have sent after thee for the good of my soul; and I will plainly tell thee for what reason. My brother Peada, and my beloved friend Oswy, began a minster for the love of Christ and St. Peter; but my brother, as Christ willed, is departed from this life; I will therefore entreat thee, beloved friend, that they earnestly proceed on this work; and I will find thee thereto gold and silver, land and possessions.' Then went the abbot home and began to work. So he sped as Christ permitted him, and in a few years was that minster ready. Then the king sent after all his thanes, after the archbishop and bishops, and after his earls, and after all those that loved God, that they should come to him; and he fixed the day when men should hallow the minster; and when they were hallowing it, there was the king Wulfhere and his brother Ethelred, and his sister

* Hist. de Rheims, Liv. III. 7.

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. chap. 4.

Kyneburga and Kyneswitha, and the archbishop and bishops, and all his thanes that were in his kingdom. Then stood up the king and said with a loud voice, 'Thanks be to the high almighty God for this worship that here is done, and I will this day glorify Christ and St. Peter. I Wulfhere give to-day to St. Peter and the abbot Saxulf and the monks of the minster, these lands and these waters and meres and fens and wiers. This is my gift.'" Then followed the specifying of the gifts, which were immense. "Then quoth the king, 'It is little—this gift—but I will that they hold it so royally and so freely that there be taken therefrom neither gild nor gable, but for the monks alone.' During these words the abbot desired that he would grant him his request. And the king granted it. 'I have here (said he) some good monks that would lead their life in retirement, if they wist where. Now, here is an island that is called Ankerig, and I will request that we may build there a minster to the honour of St. Mary, that they may dwell there who will lead their lives in peace and tranquillity.' Then answered the king and quoth thus: 'Beloved Saxulf, not that only which thou desirest, but all things that I know thou desirest in our Lord's behalf, so I approve and grant; and I pray all that come after me that our gift may stand. Whoso lesseneth our gift, or the gift of other good men, may the heavenly porter lessen him in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso advanceth it, may the heavenly porter advance him in the kingdom of heaven.' Then the witnesses subscribed it with their fingers on the cross of Christ, and confirmed it with their tongues."

It would be endless to commemorate the pious munificence of Catholic kings in the erection of churches. In Spain, previous to the invasion of the Sarassins, king Sisebut had built the church of St. Leocadia at Toledo; Chindasvint had erected the famous churches and monasteries of Compluto and St. Roman. Recesvint founded the church of St. John de Baño near Dueñas; and even Atangild had evinced royal munificence in the erection of that of Agaliensis. When Don Alphonso, the Catholic, had expelled the Moors from Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay, he rebuilt the churches which they had destroyed. The funds for the support of these churches were often the gift of devout kings,

where, as in Spain, till after the eighth century, the payment of tithes was only voluntary and partial. Don Sancho the Great granted to the monastery of Leyre the tithes of various towns which he had wrested from the Moors. Don Bamiro of Arragon gave similar privileges to the church of Huesca. Count Petriccio made an equal donation to the apostolic church of St. James, and Don Alfonso I. of Arragon granted to the holy church of Saragossa the right of tithes from certain mills and baths of the city. Don Alfonso the VIIIth granted certain tithes to the church of Burgos, and the king St. Ferdinand similarly endowed the metropolitan church of Seville. When St. Angilbert was abbot of the monastery of St. Richarius in Gall, Charlemagne assisted him in rebuilding that church, and by his orders marble and columns were transported from Rome upon strong waggons, to be employed in its decoration *. Charles VIII. of France, at his coronation in the cathedral at Rheims, was moved to compassion at the sight of its ruinous state, in consequence of a late fire; he immediately granted a considerable sum for its restoration †. The beautiful church of St. Miniato al Monte, at Florence, was raised by Hildebrand Bishop of Florence, at the expence of the Emperor St. Henry and St. Cunegonde his wife. At Rome there are churches built by kings of Spain. The expence of the repairs of the Basilica of St Paul without the walls was always borne by the kings of England. Sometimes it was the magistrates of cities who erected their principal church, of which they might almost have said with truth, "Hic amor, hæc patria est." This was the case at Freyburg in Switzerland, of which the chronicles relate that its magistrates, after having been detained at Freyburg in Brisgau by the severe Albert of Austria, brought away with them the plan of the cathedral tower, to serve as a model for that which they were to build in their own city.

The decree of the Florentine republic, in the thirteenth century, which orders the reconstruction of the cathedral is cited by admirers of classic eloquence as equal in grandeur to any senatus consultum of ancient Rome. But we must not forget the zeal of the religious orders of

* Vita S. Angelberti, Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. IV. I.

† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, Liv. IV. 59.

knighthood, of the Templars and of the Teutonic order, to which many noble churches in the West are due. In Prussia, wherever the dominion of the latter penetrated, churches and monasteries were immediately built, and divine service offered up. It was this order which built the beautiful church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg, which is still the admiration of Germany *. Sometimes religious confraternities built churches. That of the holy Sepulchre at Parma was founded in 1262 by pilgrims who had visited Jerusalem. The noblest artists contributed their skill and labour, and sought no other recompense but the remembrance of having done so. On the tomb of Giotto, in the cathedral of Florence, is an inscription, which alludes to his having built the beautiful tower of variegated marble adjoining:

Miraris turrem egregiam sacro ære sonantem,
Hæc quoque de modulo crevit ad astra meo.

A noble example, surpassed in our days by the great Canova, who, towards the end of his life, erected at his own expence in Possagno, the place of his birth, a little mountain village of difficult access, a marble church of exquisite beauty; and his resources being found insufficient, in order to complete it he recommenced his personal labours with the activity, to which indigence alone had before condemned him. Private families were often at the whole expence of erecting magnificent churches; for luxury was not in those ages personal, consisting in furniture, play, jewellery, dress, and theatres, but it was rather a grand and noble spirit, prompting works of public beneficence. Privatus illis census erat brevis, commune magnum, says Horace, speaking of the early Romans, and Bonald observes, that this was true also of the French till the fifteenth century,—the church was more beautiful than the castle †. The sublime church of the Annunziata at Genoa was built at the sole expence of the Lomelini family: that of St. Matthew was built by the Doria family, in which is the tomb of Andrew Doria, the founder, whose descendants continue to support it. In the year 1831 Prince Doria, on visiting this church, perceiving that the gold was tarnished, gave 200,000

† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, II. 294.
* Legislat. Primit. 11.

francs to have it refreshed. In the same city, the beautiful church of Santa Maria in Carignano, was built in obedience to the will of Bendinelli Sauli, a noble Genoese; and several others were built there by other families, such as the Pallavicinis, Balbis, and Ivreas. The church of the Annunziata at Padua was founded by Henry Scrovigno, whose statue is there seen. The family of Ruccellai at Florence possess the oratory of the holy Sepulchre. John Ruccellai sent persons expressly to Jerusalem to take the model of the holy Sepulchre, and he confided the erection to Alberti. This was restored and embellished in 1809 by Joseph Horace Ruccellai. The magnificent front of the church of the holy Apostles at Rome will attest the munificence of the Torlonia family in the present age. The church of Taverny, one of the most beautiful gothic fabrics in the diocese of Paris, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, was raised at the expence of the family of Montmorenci. In the year 1237, Burchard de Montmorenci left money for the expence of the glass windows. The word aplanos, belonging to the Montmorencis, is read upon the sanctuary. Many of that family are buried there, under magnificent tombs of marble, and each inscription ends with "Priez pour l'ame de lui:" one to a boy of that house, who died in 1369 ends thus: "gaudeat in Christo tempore perpetuo *." In the time of Francis I. was discovered under the ancient church of St. Merry at Paris, a stone tomb, containing the body of a warrior with boots of gilt leather on his feet, with this inscription, "Hic jacet vir bonæ memoriæ Odo Falconarius fundator hujus ecclesiæ." This was the famous Odo, the hero of Paris, who with the valiant Godefroi defended it against the Normans in the year 886, under the orders of Count Eudes, who became king two years afterwards †.

But to the personal labours and munificence of bishops and abbots Christendom was still more indebted for the erection and restoration of these magnificent fabrics, though such works were not suffered to interfere with their other duties, as the following instances will show. The first act of the episcopacy of Ebon at

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. IV. 96.
† Ibid. Tom. I. c. 6.

Rheims was to obtain leave from the Emperor to demolish what remained of the walls and gates of the city, in order to employ the materials in the reconstruction of the cathedral, which was falling to ruin. In this work he evinced great zeal for the arts, and Rumaldus, serf of the Emperor, was placed at the head of the workmen as the architect. At the same time this bishop was employing learned and holy men to compose penitentiary canons, and such was his zeal that he went twice into Denmark to preach the Gospel *. When Yves de Bellême Bishop of Séez, in the eleventh century, was obliged to rebuild his cathedral, which had been destroyed by fire, he made a journey as far as Palestine to seek contributions from some of his rich relations, who were residing there. In the same age, when the Norman knights were at Civitade in Italy, there came to them Geoffrey de Montbray Bishop of Coutances, who was related to the sons of Tancred, and he received from them considerable treasures, to enable him to finish his cathedral, with which he returned in safety. In the year 935 St. Conrad count of Altorf, having been made Bishop of Constance, made three pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and during his episcopacy, built at his own expense three churches in Constance, in one of which, that of St. Maurice, he made a sepulchre resembling that which he had seen at Jerusalem. St. Hugo, the sixth abbot of Cluni, amidst all his other labours, was able to rebuild, on an extensive scale, the church of the monastery, and in a style which was admirable for its beauty, employing twenty years on this work †. We have already seen how the celebrated abbot Suger exerted himself in building the church of St. Denis. The history of his life records a circumstance which was quite characteristic of these holy men who raised cathedrals, while they spent nothing upon themselves, from a sense of one of those great primitive principles expressed by the ancients, as by Aristotle, where he says, ἐν ἑκάστοις τὸ πρέπον· οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὰ ἁρμόζει Θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὐδ' ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ τάφῳ ‡. When he was made Regent of France, he was so little prepared for such a dignity, that he had been

* Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, I. 97.
† Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 458.
‡ Ethic. IV. 3.

that very time meditating a final retreat from court, to procure repose for the end of his life. With this view, he had built a little cell near the church, in which he could retire and meditate on divine things. This was the only apartment which he constructed for himself, and it was so modest and conformable to poverty, being only ten feet wide and fifteen long, that all who saw it were surprised at such an instance of detachment in so magnificent a person. When Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluni, came one day, with many other abbots, to see Suger, after admiring the grandeur of the church of St. Denis, and then coming to view this little cell, he heaved a deep sigh, and turned to those near him, saying, "Behold a man who condemns us all. If he goes to great expence in buildings, it is not for himself, like us, but only for the ornament of the house of God*."

In Rome we may see the magnificent churches built in these latter days by saints, by St. Philip Neri and by St. Charles Borromeo. Yet in restoring the ancient churches with greater magnificence, these holy men are sometimes seen fearing the very splendour of their own work, and passing a judgment upon themselves which assuredly they did not deserve. Thus speaking of Wlstan, Bishop of Worcester, William of Malmesbury says, "The fear of God was so constantly in his mind, that what others turned into pomp, he transferred into matter of compunction. When the church which he had begun from the foundations was so far completed that the monks were removing into it, orders were given that the old church, which had been built by the blessed Oswald, should be unroofed and demolished. At this spectacle Wlstan, standing by, could not refrain from tears. What feeling and tenderness belonged to the spirit of the middle ages! Upon which, being modestly reminded by his companions that he ought rather to rejoice on seeing the church so augmented, he replied, 'I think far otherwise, because we, miserable men, destroy the works of the saints that we may procure praise for ourselves; that age of happy men knew not the construction of pompous houses, but it knew men who, under any roof whatever, were ready to immolate themselves to God, and to attract

* Hist. de Suger, Liv. VI.

subjects by example*'" Ah, what sayest thou, holy Wlstan? Were not these scruples against thine own wiser rule? The saintly Bernard too had fears, lest vain-glory should arise from his success in preaching; but art not thou one of those privileged few who may conclude, as he did, in addressing the insidious enemy, "nec propter te cœpi, nec propter te desinam†?" And besides, after all the pains which later architects have employed in making old buildings vain to be homogeneous with their own works, by forcing them to display themselves to every passing gaze, how little would their style lead us to suspect the men who raised them of being actuated by personal vanity. It might almost lead us to remember that fact related in the Gospel, that it was he whom all the Jews counted worthy, who loved their nation, and who had built them a synagogue, that cried to Jesus, Lord, I am not worthy. Humility is, as it were, the kernel which lies within the beautiful exterior shell of all the creations of religion; as when you repair to Loretto, and find that poor cottage of Nazareth enshrined within a temple of marble, and surrounded by a palace, which art and riches have combined to adorn. An old writer says, while looking at the chapel of King Henry VII. in Westminster, "I have much admired the curious work-manship thereof; it added to the wonder, that it is so shadowed with mean houses, well-nigh on all sides, that one may almost touch it as soon as see it. This chapel may pass for an emblem of great worth, living in a private way. How is he pleased with his own obscurity, whilst others of less desert make greater show; and whilst proud people stretch out their plumes in ostentation, he useth their vanity for his shelter, more pleased to have worth than to have others take notice of it." Indeed it would not be easy to find any thing more expressive of humility than the buildings of the middle ages. With all their grandeur and beauty they are always modest, and never disposed to show themselves off to advantage. They disdain nothing useful for the sake of appearances; they have no false surface to conceal weakness and deformity; they are grand without an effort;

* De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, Lib. IV.
† In Vita ipsius.

and always willing to condescend to the wants and consolations of the poor. In the middle ages when an edifice was complete, there was almost as much under the ground as above it. Whether church or castle there was always a double foundation; either a subterraneous church, or a suite of apartments, or a labyrinth of vaults, spreading, like roots, far and wide on all sides.

From all this it is sufficiently evident that the construction of these monuments did not involve men in any ruinous expenditure: they were not raised or enriched, like the temples of Rome, when they were rebuilt and re-endowed at the departure of the Gauls, by taxes imposed upon the citizens, with such little regard to their convenience, that they were compelled to borrow money for their own personal wants, until year after year augmenting their difficulties, they were consigned to slavery, and dragged to dungeons, and the whole commonalty sank under its misery into a state of gloomy submission. The offerings with which they were raised and supported had been always the voluntary contributions of the faithful; the catholic bishops would have abhorred the idea of any one being compelled to present them. Nay, the funds were actually the fruit of holiness and austerity; for wherever decay of discipline occurred in monasteries, even buildings fell to ruin, but a reform was followed with an increase of wealth and magnificence. This was the case at St. Denis, when Suger had introduced the reform *. Dom Gervaise observes, that the abbey was never so rich as after it had embraced this reform, and he believes that it was in consequence of the blessing of God. This source of ecclesiastical wealth to support the erection of churches, had been remarked in an early age; witness what St. Ambrose says, "If he deserved to be commended to our Lord who had built a synagogue, how much more is he deserving who builds a church? What shall I say of our brethren, the holy men Vitalianus and Majanus? I know that they seek not glory from men but from God; yet if I were not to speak their praise, these works themselves would cry out; for they constructed this tabernacle, and at their own expense, and at what great expense, considering how moderate and slight are their worldly means! their's was abundance of

* Hist. de Suger, Lib. V.

faith and the riches of simplicity, for to holy men poverty itself is always rich. Therefore, I believe that these blessed men built the church no less with their prayers than with their money; they expended all their substance on it, and yet they wanted nothing, which shows how rich is poverty when all is expended*." How justly might we style each of these Christian churches a temple, σεμνὸν ἀγλάαισι μερίμναις†, venerable with noble thoughts. It is to be remembered that the clergy, and even holy laymen, gave not only their wealth but their personal labour, and the assistance of their own genius. St. Victrice, Archbishop of Rouen, in the fourth century, describes himself and his clergy as labouring with their own hands to build the church of God in that city. "You behold on one side a crowd of austere monks, on another a multitude of children, who make the air resound with their innocent voices; a little farther it is a chorus of holy virgins, who carry the standard of Jesus Christ, or a crowd of devout widows, who display none of the ornaments which are despised by those who wish to serve Christ. Every thing is divine—the riches of sacred canticles shine there, not a night or vigil, that is not enlightened by them. Let us then introduce the divine martyrs into the temple prepared for them; let us collect their relics, those seeds of the future resurrection. It is not in vain that I have so ardently desired to build this sanctuary. The arrival of the saints justified my anxiety. We have laid the foundations; we have raised the walls, and we behold this day for whom the work has been advanced; juvat manibus volvere, et grandia humeris saxa portare. Sudorem meum bibat terra; atque utinam sanguinem biberet pro nomine salvatoris‡!" The Cardinal de Berulle, who founded the congregation of the Oratoire, was inflamed with such zeal, that when he had purchased ground for the church, he used to work himself at the building, like an apostolic man, carrying the hods as if he had been a common labourer. This was so late as in the year 1616§. Peter,

* S. Ambrosii Serm. LXXXIX. † Pind. Nem. III.

‡ De Laude Sanctorum, cap. 12. Theod. Liquet, Recherches sur l'Hist. Religieuse et Litteraire de Rouen depuis les premiers temps jusqu'à Rollon, p. 21.

§ De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. I. 812.

Abbot of Andrenes, had incurred the resentment of a certain wicked man, on account of his persisting in rebuilding a church which the other had resolved should not be rebuilt. The holy pastor went on, however, with the work, and laboured with his own hands. The son of the opponent, that he might please his father, lay in wait for the abbot at the gate of the monastery, and as the abbot was entering aimed a mortal blow at his head; but a youth, Henry de Fernes, his chaplain, bravely threw himself forwards and received the stroke: he was immediately carried into the infirmary, where after a few days he departed in holy hope*. The same men who were thus ready to exercise every kind of servile labour, were also zealous in devoting their genius and skill to the same end. In the tenth century the monk of Gozze was a celebrated architect. The church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, which is so beautiful, that Michael Angelo used to call it his Spouse, was built in the thirteenth century by two Dominican friars. The façade of St. Mark's, in the same city, was designed by a Carmelite. In erecting the noble church of the Abbey of Einsiedelin, the architects were Kaspar Moosbrugger, a monk, and Thomas Maier, a lay brother. It was Father Grassi and Father Pozzi, Jesuits, who contributed chiefly to the erection and adornment of the magnificent church of St. Ignatius at Rome. Marius de Canepine, who was the architect to raise the front of the church of St. Charles at Rome, was a Capuchin. So also upon the interior decorations the clergy esteemed their personal labour well employed. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was Dom Guillaume Lavieille, prior of the Abbey of Fontenelle, who beautifully painted the choir of that church with images of divers saints†. The perfecting of the art of making pictures in Scagliola is due to Father Henry Hugford, abbot of the order of Vallombrosa, who was of an English family; and the two organs in the cathedral of Como were made by the celebrated Jesuit Hermann, in the seventeenth century. St. Jerome mentions, in praise of the priest Nepotianus, that whatever was beautiful in the Basilicas and in the Courts of the

* Chronicon Andrensis Monasterii, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IX. p. 455.

† Langlois, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Fontenelle.

Martyrs, was the work of his own hands, that he resembled in elegance and diversity of genius those Greek philosophers who used to boast* that whatever they used, even to their pallium and to the ring on their finger, had been made by their own hands†. Even great noblemen were sometimes excited by devotion to labour with their own hands at the erection of churches. Godfrey, the Bearded Duke of Lower Lorraine, in his war against the Emperor, Henry III., had burnt the greater church of St. Mary at Verdun, when that city fell a prey to his arms. Full of repentance for this sacrilege, he caused it to be rebuilt, and took for his penance the labour of frequently working at it with his own hands, carrying the mortar like the meanest workman; this was in the year 1046, as Lambertinus Schaffnaburgensis relates. This example naturally leads us to consider the last source, which consisted in the substitution of such works for the ancient canonical penance. In these ages of faith, when man was not made to consist in his organs, when, as Bonald observes, there was in the world another God besides the god of riches, another worship besides that of pleasure, other business besides the intrigues of ambition, it was common to see men in power, who had been misled for a moment by the intoxication of rule, return to themselves, and exhibit profound sorrow for unjust actions, or even for a legitimate war, if they had exceeded the measure of evil which it permits to be inflicted upon enemies. They were then seen to found pious establishments with the profit of iniquity, and offer to the Eternal Justice institutions of a durable advantage to society, in expiation of the passing evils committed against some men, and leave public monuments of their faith in the Divinity, of their hope of a better life, of their charity to their fellow-creatures, monuments which attested their repentance, even after history had forgotten their faults ‡. We have already seen that by means of indulgences, and the contributions in consequence, a great number of these magnificent churches were built or repaired. The vast and beautiful church of that celebrated Carthusian monastery near Pavia, of which the Marquis Malaspina de Sannazaro has lately given a description, may be cited

* Plato, Hippias.
† Epist. XXXV.
‡ Legislation Primit. Tom. I. 240.

here. Great as may have been the crimes of Galeazzo Visconti, the founder, great also, it must be admitted, was this monument of his penitence, and desire to redeem his soul, a work worthy indeed of repentance, at once to be the consolation and support of a number of holy men in successive ages, who were to follow there the path of perfection, and a monument that was to adorn and benefit his country, being an object of astonishment and rapture for the men of devout and cultivated minds in all future times. The first stone was laid in September, 1396, and in the year 1399 twenty-five monks were there established. Gelasius II. granted the Archbishop of Saragossa, the power of remitting canonical penances to any one who would give alms for rebuilding his church, which the Moors had destroyed. The Count Don Pedro and his countess gave the town and monastery of Corispindo to the church of St. James, as an atonement for the sin of wounding Don Alfonso before the gate of the altar of the apostle. "In truth," says the author of the work lately published in Spain, on the origin and progress of the income of that church, "corporal mortifications are better than alms for cleansing the soul of its infirmities, because, though the latter are efficacious means of exciting Divine mercy, they stand opposed only to covetousness; and it is easier to a rich man to relinquish part of his superfluities, than to abandon his luxuries and criminal pursuits. Therefore, even when these commutations were flourishing most, there were added to alms, prayers and abstinence from certain dainties." With respect to the principle of the commutation in relation to history, it is certain that, even in the first ages, penitents were sometimes required or induced to contribute to great works of public utility; but the formal substitution of these for the ancient canonical penances, was introduced towards the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. Every change implies some disorder, and abuse attaches itself of necessity to every possible arrangement of discipline; but it was argued that the evil to which this may have opened a door, was certainly not to the extent that some learned ecclesiastical writers, in their zeal for primitive usages, were found to maintain, for the foundations of truth are never set aside. Pierre le Chantre, a celebrated theologian, who lived in the twelfth century, complained of the abandonment of

the ancient canonical penance by this relaxation. The blessed Stephen d'Obasine, who died about the middle of the same century, expressed himself in the same sense, and would not consent to introduce the compensations. The scholastic divines, on the contrary, that is, the wisest and most learned men, argued in defence of this mode of compensation; and while the popes, as Chardon says, seemed always attached to the ancient discipline, they sanctioned the sense of the schools, in recognizing the wisdom and expediency of the change which had been gradually effected. Holy theologians, indeed, of the twelfth century, when found complaining of this alteration, have a claim to the highest respect of those who have continued faithful; but assuredly the men of our times, and of the modern creeds, cannot with any consistency avail themselves of their arguments or opposition.

How can men of the modern learning lament the abolition of that discipline which required years of weeping, prostration and kneeling without the church in sackcloth and ashes, excluded from communion for seven or ten or twenty years, or even for the whole course of men's lives? On the other hand, the wisest and most zealous adherents of the ancient discipline acknowledged that after all, these penances did not always necessarily produce conversion of heart, or facilitate the return of men to God, without which the punishment of sins was of no avail: those who advocated the system of compensation, observed that while reason herself could not but approve of that discipline, which directed the internal horror of sin and dread of its penalty to the erection of prodigious works, that would benefit the race of men in future generations, to the ear of faith the arguments of the schoolmen must seem solid and satisfactory, for they rested on the principle of Hugues and Richard of St. Victor, that perfect contrition alone had the power of remitting sins and their penalty, as also on the explanation given by Alexander de Hales, that the punishment due to sin, though not suffered in this life, may yet, by the indulgence of the church, which is only an application of the merits of Jesus Christ, granted to contrite sinners, be considered punished by God in the person of Jesus Christ; so that there would remain nothing to be suffered by the contrite penitent, who had not fulfilled the canonical penance, but who had worthily received

the indulgence of the church, granted from her treasure, which consisted of the superabundant merits of the whole mystical body of Jesus Christ. They observed that the greatest admirers of the canonical penance were obliged to admit, that in the first ages the bishops had the power of dispensing with the whole or a part of the penalty, which was an admission that sin might be wholly remitted, without suffering its penalty either in this life or in the next; and they denied that any other prerogative was exercised in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when, to persons truly contrite, works of charity and of pious utility were substituted for the solitary exercises imposed by the canons, which would not have produced any fruits beyond the breasts of the individual, and which could not have been always of absolute necessity, since they had been sometimes remitted.

But to return to the churches. We have now seen from what sources the funds for their erection were generally drawn; so that the phenomenon seems to be explained, with respect to the difficulty of accomplishing works of such prodigious magnitude: for they are monuments of faith, and they testify the zeal with which men of former ages followed and worshipped Christ. It is not that undue importance was attached to material fabrics, or that Christians in faithful ages needed the light of modern philosophy to entertain spiritual notions of what is pleasing to the majesty of God. It does not follow that they were unable to make the proper distinctions, because we do not find them imitating Xerxes, when he burnt all the temples in Greece, the Magi having persuaded him that it was impious and detestable to include the deity within walls. "God himself takes care," said St. Zeno of Verona, "to warn us that all this worldly and terrestrial pomp, without true adorers, is neither necessary nor sufficient to honour him worthily. 'What house worthy of me can you build to me,' saith he in the words of Isaiah; and does he not show us all the vanity of the Temple of Solomon, when he says, 'Of this temple there shall not rest stone upon stone.' Ah! without doubt, he shows us in these words that a similar edifice, however great or magnificent, cannot please him by itself alone. He desires above all to be surrounded by true adorers, and he finds in their hearts a temple, which is far more agreeable to him than all those which

the hands of men can build to his honour *." In the middle ages we find these sentiments in the ordinances of holy kings, who were the most distinguished for their magnificent foundations of churches. "Although it is good," says a capitulary of Charlemagne, "that there should be public edifices for the church, nevertheless, the ornament and elevation of good morals must be preferred to all other kinds of building: because, as far as we can discern, the construction of basilicas belongs to a certain custom of the old law, but the emendation of manners appertains properly to the New Testament and to the Christian discipline." This was published at the time when the monks of Fulda expostulated with him, beseeching him that the immense and superfluous buildings and other useless works of their secular rulers might be omitted by which the brethren were harassed. "Sed omnia," they added, "juxta mensuram et discretionem fiant †." In the exhortations which he addressed to the new abbot St. Eigilus, the emperor quoted the observation of St. Chrysostom, that no churches are raised to the glory of God, in the building of which the interests of the poor are compromised, and that the martyrs are not honoured, when their basilicas are enriched with the spoils of the living ‡. But, as illustrating the creative spirit of the Catholic society, the number of these beautiful and sublime fabrics may be a subject for lasting admiration and pious gratitude.

"The Catholic religion," says Chateaubriand, "has covered the world with its monuments. Protestantism has now lasted three centuries; it is powerful in England, in Germany, in America. What has it raised? It will show you the ruins which it has made, amidst which it has planted some gardens, or established some manufactories §." The debasement, indeed, of our ecclesiastical architecture, which, as a modern writer says, "immediately ensued upon the Reformation, is only less disgraceful than the destruction to which so many venerable edifices were condemned by the brutal rapacity of their lay possessors. That glorious and elevating art

* Tract. Liv. I.

† Mabillon, Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. § 6.

‡ In Vita S. Eigilii, Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. IV. p. 1.

§ Discourse, Hist. Pref.

had attained its highest perfection; and no degradation was ever more rapid or more complete. But the Reformation," adds this writer, with amusing simplicity or shallowness, "was not in any degree the cause of this: it was produced by the spirit, or rather the taste of the age *." The Catholic religion is essentially a creative power, to edify and not to destroy, because it is under the immediate influence of that Holy Spirit which the Church invokes as the Creative Spirit—"Creator Spiritus." The Protestant, or modern philosophical, is a principle of destruction, of perpetual decomposition, and disunion. Under the dominion of the English Protestant power, for four hundred years, Ireland presents, as a great prelate of our time observes, the appearance of a new country, in the same manner as France under the sophists of the Revolution, is rapidly becoming as naked and void of ancient memorials as the wilds of America. That the Catholic spirit in this respect continues to be exactly what it was of old in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, may be witnessed in the works which are still pursued in Italy and Spain, or in any of the Catholic states of Europe, however poor or insignificant, as in some of the smaller cantons of Switzerland. Florence, for instance, during the last fifteen years, has beheld the prodigious work continued of finishing the chapel of the Medicis in the church of St. Lorenzo, at the private personal expence of its pious and munificent dukes. This famous chapel is incrusted with jasper, agates, chalcedons, lapis lazuli, and marble of every colour, and adorned with tombs of Egyptian granite and statues of bronze. At Rome too is seen, at the present day, the same spirit for constructing churches as in the middle ages. Witness the vast labour of its devout people in rebuilding the Basilica of St. Paul; on entering which solemn and majestic sanctuary, it is difficult to refrain from tears; caused, not merely from beholding such stupendous ruins, but also by an impression, which comes suddenly over the mind, of astonishment and affection for the present generation of men, who employ such pains to repair it: and in fact it is with an indiscribable emotion that one stands by and beholds these prodigious columns of granite arrive at

* Quarterly Review, No. LXVIII.

their final destination, having been drawn along from the distant regions of the Alps; and one cannot avoid for the moment feeling, as it were, a greater love for men who are capable of conceiving and of undertaking such enterprises through the love of Christ and of his saints. Alas! with how much nobler an order of monuments than that which the present race of men erects, would England be now adorned, if her rich and powerful nobles, and her laborious population, had continued Catholic! What splendid churches, monasteries, hospitals, colleges, and halls would have risen every where! With such means, and with the activity inherent in the national character, what might not have been done if all had been animated with the generous and self-devoted spirit of the Catholic religion! And here I cannot refrain from hazarding a remark which was often suggested to me by what I observed of Italy: for after all that can be advanced in praise of its climate, subject to such extreme vicissitudes, and of its scenery, where clear rivers and beautiful verdure, and even if we except its maritime and Alpine borders, abrupt and striking mountains are so rarely seen, it seems to me as if one cannot avoid coming at last to the conclusion, that the classic land of artists and poets owes its principal charms, even those which strike the eye, not to any extraordinary liberality of nature, but to the works which have been inspired by the Catholic religion. The palaces of Genoa and of Venice, without their churches, would not compensate for their scorched and formal hills and unhealthy marshes. The monotonous plain of Milan would be no delightful recollection without the thought of its cathedral; the formal hills which border the pale and turbid Po at Turin, would inspire no interest if they were not crowned with that votive church of the Superga; the low sandy banks of the Arno would not arrest the pilgrims at Pisa if there were not the soil of Calvary in the Campo Santo, the cathedral, the baptistery and the Campanile. The vale and hills of Florence, with their famed but disappointing stream, are unquestionably surpassed in natural beauty by the English valleys of the Severn or the Wye: but art, inspired by the Catholic religion, has raised that dome and tower in the Tuscan plain, and crowned the hills which encircle it with those beautiful convents which Michael Angelo

used to regard with rapture. How hideous would be the range of the adjoining Apennines if it were not for Camaldoli and Alvernia! Who would be attached to Sienna if it were not for its cathedral and its gothic towers? And what pilgrim from the North would be attracted to Ancona by the scenery of that level shore of the Adriatic, if it were not for the hope of arriving at the house of our blessed Lady?

I would suggest another observation, less hazardous, which must have been made by most travellers; that the unity of the Catholic religion is not more admirable than the variety of her monuments. In both we can trace the influence of the same creative spirit which presided over the formation of the earth and the waters, in which, as ancient philosophy observed *, one living universal principle is simultaneously developed in a countless multiplicity of beauteous forms, designed for a beneficent end. To have a personal experience of the unity of the Church, we should traverse the whole world, to witness, under every difference of nature and climate, one family likeness among her children, one faith, one hope, one baptism, one spirit of charity, one sacrifice of atonement, one pervading type, and one idea determining all institutions, manners, and even intellectual conceptions;—but to behold its variety, which is produced by this unity, we need only observe what is established in any one city. See the noble cathedral rising from the centre, as the parent of all the lesser fabrics! though it is not always the principal church; for at Verona, Padua, Bologna, and Ravenna, the churches of St. Zeno, St. Anthony, St. Petronio, and St. Apollinare, are in a rank before it, and to the latter the archbishop and clergy repair every year, processionally to honour the tomb of the apostle of Emilia. Observe on one side is the vast monastery of the Benedictines for the learned, with its spacious and beautiful cloisters under noble libraries and solemn halls; on the other rises the immense college of the Jesuits, for the reception of studious and saintly youth. Here you see the magnificent hospital for those who love to minister to the sick; and there is the hospice for him who desires to entertain the stranger. Nor do you overlook the cha-

* Arist. Metaphysic. Lib. I. c. 4.

ritable school for the pious lay brother who devotes himself to the instruction of the children of the poor. Without the walls, in some sequestered vale, stands the Carthusian monastery and Cistercian abbey, for those who serve God in penitence and retirement; and crowning the beautiful heights which encircle the city, appear the humble but picturesque convents of the Capuchins and Franciscans, for the active brothers of the poor. Among the groves adjoining you discern numerous religious houses, under various rules, for holy virgins. Rising on the highest rock, above them all, is the votive temple of our Lady, for the devout pilgrims; and deep in the recesses of the neighbouring forest you will discover the mossy cell and simple oratory, for him who loves to dwell in prayer amidst the silence and solitude of nature. What a multitude of magnificent and useful creations have thus arisen from one faith! What variety, and yet what harmonious concord!

But let us proceed to the building of the churches, for the ability to construct which we have been attempting to account. This may seem to propose a dry study; but as Quintilian says of his own subject, "Plus habet in recessu quam fronte promittit." In these days, when men have so forgotten the ancient practices and traditions of the Christian society, it might be supposed that formerly men were directed in the selection of sites for the erection of churches, either by the facility of procuring ground, or by some circumstances connected with caprice or accident; but it was not with such views that churches were erected in primitive times, or during the ages of faith. In the second council of Braga, the bishops were prohibited consecrating any church built for the sake of any temporal utility. Catholics built not temples to saints as heretics affirm, nor to great men, as the sophists of France, but to the omnipotent God alone. They place them, indeed, under the invocation of saints; but their altars are consecrated to the God of martyrs. Not, however, without regard to the memory and the prayers of saints was the site of their temples chosen. The spot which had received the blood of a martyr, or witnessed his confession, or heard the preaching of a holy man, or that on which his house had stood, or on which any remarkable event had occurred connected with religion, was always the first

selected for the purpose, so that almost all the ancient churches in every country thus placed, convey a substantially faithful remembrance of great men and of great events, disproving the justice of that observation made by Cicero, that the memory of the wicked is sometimes stronger than that of the good, and really extending to the friends of the true God, that earthly honour of which the ancient poet so beautifully sung—

> Tu quoque littoribus nostris, Æneïa nutrix,
> Æternam moriens famam Caieta dedisti *.

Of churches thus situated, uttering as it were the solemn voice of ancient tradition, none are more illustrious than those three at the Salvian waters, beyond the Basilica of St. Paul at Rome, on the spot where that apostle was beheaded, that of St. Peter, in Montorio, on the Janiculum, in the cloisters of which is a small chapel, on the spot where the Prince of the apostles suffered on the cross; that of St. Agnes, without the walls, which was built by Constantine at the request of his daughter Constance, on the spot where the body of that holy virgin was found; and the Basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican, which was erected over the grotto near the Circus, where the body of St. Peter was placed by Marcellus. Pope St. Anaclet erected an oratory on the spot, which Constantine the Great raised into a Basilica, over which the present dome was erected in later ages. This ancient oratory is the present confession of St. Peter, under the altar of which reposes part of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, before which, in the upper church, one hundred and twelve lamps are burning for ever, day and night. Endless are the memorials of profound interest attached to the different churches of the holy city: on almost each of them a folio history has been written. One vast work of erudition by Cancellarii, is merely upon the sacristy of St. Peter. The church of St. Marcellus was built on the spot where stood the house of St. Lucina, a Roman lady, at the beginning of the fourth century. An ancient tradition relates, that where stands the church of St. Maria in Via Lata, St. Paul resided with the centurion, who by

* Æn. Lib. VII.

order of Festus conducted him to Rome. The original oratory is now below the ground. The church of St. Clement stands on the site of the house of St. Clement, where his body and that of St. Ignatius of Antioch now repose under the great altar. The church of St. Maria in Dominica was built over the house of St. Cyriaque. The origin of the church of St. John and St. Paul, dates from the fourth century, when the monk Pammachias changed into a church the house of St. John and St. Paul, martyrs. The church of St. Pudentienne occupies the site of the house of St. Pudentius, the Roman senator who lodged the apostle St. Peter, and was his first convert to the faith, with his sons Novatus and Timothy, and his daughters Pudentienne and Praxeda. Pope St. Pius I. changed this house into a church. Here is the altar on which St. Peter celebrated the divine mysteries; and in the well which is railed round in the nave was preserved the blood of more than three thousand martyrs, who are interred under the church. The Basilica of St. Sebastian was built on the cemetery of St. Calixtus, where many Popes and one hundred and seventy thousand Christians were buried, where the body of St. Sebastian was transported by St. Lucina, and where the bodies of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul were concealed for some time. The church of St. Prisca was built on the site of her house, in which she was baptized by St. Peter, with many other converted pagans. The church of St. Cecilia was built on the site of her house, and was consecrated by Pope St. Urban, about the year 230. The house of Pope St. Gregory the Great, who was descended from the ancient and noble Anician family, was changed by him into a monastery, where he continued to reside. After his death, the church which he built there in honour of St. Andrew, was placed under his own invocation. Here you see the chapel where St. Gregory recited his Homilies, and the marble table on which he used to feed, every morning, twelve poor pilgrims. The church of the Holy Cross was built by Constantine on the spot where he rested after escaping from the persecution at Rome.

Turning to other cities, we find the same associations of sanctity with the site of their churches. Thus at Genoa the cathedral of St. Laurence stands on the site of the hospice in which that holy martyr had lodged

as he came from Spain to go to Rome, where he suffered three years afterwards under Valerian. It was immediately changed into a church, which at the end of the eleventh century rose into the present majestic structure. The church of our Lady of Graces in the same city, was built on the spot where St. Nazarus disembarked to be the third apostle of Genoa. The house of St. Catherine of Sienna was converted into two oratories, which form the church and the oratory of the confraternity of St. Catherine della Notte, so called because they accompany the blessed sacrament in the night to the sick. The church of St. Theodore in Ravenna is on the site of a house in which the primitive Christians assembled to celebrate the divine mysteries; for whom also the grottoes under the church of St. Nazair and St. Celsus at Verona served as a retreat. The church of St Alexander in Zebedia at Milan was built on the ruins of a prison called Zebedia, in which an ancient tradition states, that an ensign of the Theban legion, named Alexander, was confined, who was afterwards martyred at Bergamo. The little church of St. Protasius ad Monachos in Milan, was built on the site of the house where lodged the holy martyrs, Gervase and Protasius, who suffered under Nero in the year 77. At Arona the church encloses the very room in which St. Charles Borromeo was born. At Loretto the magnificent Basilica is raised over the blessed house of Nazareth, as tradition testifies, as history, with astonishment, concedes; and as is acknowledged by those of the Dalmatian shore, who lost it to their shame. At Einsiedelin it incloses the hut of a poor hermit, who came into those mountains in the ninth century. Meinrad, (for that was the hermit's name,) who was of the illustrious family of the counts of Hohenzollern, in Suabia, retired into a forest on the mountains of Schweitz, near a fountain, where Hildegarde, daughter of Louis, king of Germany, and abbess of the convent of St. Felix and St. Regulus at Zurich, built him a cell and chapel, and gave him an image of our Lady. There he lived from the year 837 till his death, which was in 863: and on the spot was subsequently erected the vast abbey of our Lady of the Hermits, and over his cell arose the church: but as the declivity of the mountain did not admit of extending the nave to the fountain, it was found impossible to place

the cupola, according to the original plan, immediately over the cell, which was on much higher ground; therefore we find it standing enclosed within a marble chapel, near the western entrance. That cell has been moistened with the blood of the murdered saint; and the very image which beheld the horrid deed, is still upon the altar. His fountain, which is in front of the church, is covered with a beautiful dome, supported upon arches, and the pilgrims drink from it *. At Lyons the church of St. Irenæus was built over the tomb of St. Epipoy and St. Alexander, who were martyred under Marcus Aurelius. It was at first subterraneous; but in the fifth century St. Patiens erected the present church. Here were collected the bones of the martyrs under Severus in the year 202. St. Patiens placed on it an inscription inviting the faithful to prayer, and stating the number of martyrs whose bones were there collected, including those of women and children, to have been one thousand and nineteen. In the year 1562, the Calvinists took Lyons, demolished the altars, and mixed the bones of beasts with those of the martyrs. In the cathedral of Rheims is St. Peter's chapel, now under the invocation of St. Nicholas, to which the clergy, on the first day of Lent, used to go in procession, chaunting the anthem of St. Peter. It was on that spot that St. Remi instructed Clovis for baptism †. Pope Urban IV. having been a native of Troyes, caused the house of his father to be dedicated to God, and on the spot built a beautiful church, which bore his name ‡. In this city, the procession on Sundays, before high mass, used to make a station at the chapel of St. Saviour in the church of St. Peter, because this chapel is on the spot where the first church was built in Troyes by St. Potentian, in the first century, who dedicated it to the Saviour §.

The site of many churches recalls events of the utmost interest, which would furnish episodes that could not be surpassed in beauty by any to be met with in the history of the world. This is the case with that of a church near Troyes, of which the origin is thus related. In the year

* Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik.
† Anquetil, Hist. de Reims, I. 43.
‡ Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 362.
§ Id. p. 2.

451, St. Loup being bishop of Troyes, Attila and his Huns came like a devastation over the plains of Champagne, and having destroyed the city of Rheims, passed on to Troyes. The holy bishop, warned by a vision, deputed his deacon Memier, and seven of the most holy children of the choir, to go out to meet the barbarian, clad in albs, to signify their innocence, and bearing the cross and the holy gospels. When intelligence came that Attila was arrived within six leagues of Troyes, St. Loup, evincing the obedience of the patriarch Abraham, presenting his children in sacrifice, sent his chosen band of innocent and holy youths to receive the crown of martyrdom. So these innocents departed from the city, and arrived in presence of the general of Attila, who was seated on a fiery horse, surrounded with sanguinary soldiers, who all hastened to meet this troop of lambs. The innocent children, according to the directions of their bishop, bowed down in reverence before the barbarians, who seemed seized with admiration; but suddenly a gust of wind raised the dust in clouds, and the albs and sacred vestments of St. Memier and his companions were agitated, so that the horse of the general taking fright, reared up, and became ungovernable, and threw his rider, who was killed on the spot. The soldiers, seeing what had happened, cried out that this was a troop of magicians, provided with charms, whose acts of apparent homage were mortal enchantments; and with these words they fell upon them with swords, and massacred them. Then they tore off the gold and precious stones from the binding of the books of the gospels, and seized the cross and the other sacred ornaments which the little saints had carried with them. After this event, the advanced guard moved on to the city, and the holy bishop, clad in his pontifical vestments, with a great company of his clergy and people, came out to meet it. "Who art thou that comest to subject all things to thy empire!" said the holy bishop to the tyrant; who replied, "I am Attila, king of the Huns, the scourge of God:" to which words the bishop made answer, "What man is there then that can resist the scourge of God? Pass on then, O scourge of my God, and accomplish what shall be permitted to thee." At these words the barbarian was mollified, or rather struck with fear by the hand of God, so that the whole army

passed through the midst of Troyes without doing any injury. Attila is said to have shown great reverence to the holy bishop, and to have begged him to follow his army. St. Loup, in hopes of converting the cruel tyrant, complied with this invitation, and accompanied him as far as the Rhine, whence he returned safe to Troyes, where he died in 479, on the 29th day of July, which is observed as a great festival through the diocese. The deacon, St. Memier, and the holy children, were massacred on the spot, which was called Brolium, and which now bears the name of St. Memier. It is on the banks of the Seine, about four leagues from Troyes, where a priory and a church were built, and where the relics of the martyrs were preserved in a golden shrine *.

In the ninth century, St. Liudger built, in Friesland, a church on the spot where the great St. Boniface and his companions had been martyred by the barbarians; and these verses, composed by Alcuin, were inscribed upon it:

Hic Pater egregius meritis Bonifacius almis
Cum sociis pariter fundebat sanguinis undam,
Inclyta martyrii sumentes stemmata sacri.
Terra beata nimis, sanctorum sanguine dives.
Transvolat hinc victor miles ad præmia cæli,
Ultima cæspitibus istis vestigia linquens.
Suadeo quapropter curvato poplite supplex,
Tu quicumque legis, terris his oscula fige †.

After the Saxons had laid waste the country about Daventre, and had destroyed the church in which was the sepulchre of the holy priest Liafwin, St. Liudger repaired thither and sought for the body of the saint, but without success. Nevertheless, that the place might not remain desolate, he began to build the church upon the space within which he thought it must be contained. After the foundation had been laid, instructed by a vision, he found the body under the wall which he had built next the south; therefore he extended its base, so as to comprise the sepulchre within the church, which was preserved afterwards from all the fury of the Gen-

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 86.

† Vita ejus, Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. IV. p. 1.

tiles *. On the spot where St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia had been martyred in the tenth century, which was in a wood near the sea shore, a chapel under his invocation was erected and founded for four priests and two scholars, where the office of Our Lady was to be daily sung, and mass said every morning at four o'clock. To this wild but holy place devout pilgrims repaired from distant lands, attracted by the renown of his sanctity and by the indulgences attached to it by Pope Eugene IV. Of St. Adalbert's chapel, there remain at present but a few mouldering walls, which the instructed traveller beholds with sorrowful reverence. Abandoned, in consequence of the change of religion, it had been overthrown in the year 1069 by a furious storm †. This had been erected by the knights of the Teutonic order, who made it a custom to commemorate great events in the history of the country by building similar chapels. Thus we find another to the memory of the knights that were slain on the field of Tannenberg. The origin of the foundation of the church of St. George at Rouen, was represented in stained glass upon the windows. It was founded by an English gentleman, at the time when his countrymen had possession of Rouen. This nobleman, being very ill, sent to ask for the blessed sacrament. The priest coming to the hotel, stumbled in the street, and the blessed host fell to the ground. Having heard of what had occurred, this nobleman, a true Christian and good Catholic, being filled with sorrow, vowed to God that he would build a church on the spot, under the invocation of St. George the Martyr, which he did on his recovery, and he placed canons in that church, which he richly endowed ‡. When St. Ouen, bishop of Rouen, died at Clichy in the year 683, his body was to be conveyed to his episcopal city. For this purpose, the king Thierry, the queen, the mayor of the palace, and all the court, accompanied it as far as Pontoise, where it was delivered to the clergy of the province of Rouen, accompanied by the nobility. On the spot on the river's side where his body was laid down during this

* Vita ejus, Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. IV. p. 1.

† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens I. 4. and Biel. III.

‡ Taillepied, Recueil des Antiquitez et Singularitez de Rouen, 257.

exchange, a chapel was erected in his honour, and finally the church of St. Ouen, which is now the parish of the village *. St. Ouen having died in the royal house at Clichy, his memory was in such benediction that though his body was immediately removed to Rouen, the palace was ever after called St. Ouen, or the cell of St. Ouen, and this was the origin of the parish church of St. Ouen-sur-Seine. A multitude of chapels and oratories were similarly erected, in commemoration of events in the history of holy men; and if any one should object and be troubled on account of the fact, that in many places he sees memorials of the same personages, he might be referred to the observations of Dionysius, in answer to those who advanced a like objection with respect to the many sepulchres of Æneas that existed; for, he says, they should consider that this difficulty attaches itself to many, and especially to those men who were rendered illustrious by fortune, but yet who led a wandering and uncertain life; for though only one place received their bodies, their monuments were erected in many places through gratitude for the benefits which they had conferred upon certain men: as when some city had been founded by them; or, as when some of their race still survived; or, if they had inhabited that foreign place for a certain time, and had conversed humanely with the natives. And all such things are related of Æneas in ancient legends. For in one place it was commemorated that he had saved Troy from perishing utterly; and in Phrygia he left a son, king Ascanius; and at Pallenene he founded a city bearing his name; and in Arcadia he left his married daughter; and in Sicily he left a part of his army, and since he lived benevolently with men in many other places, he conciliated their favours, and on that account when he had ceased to live with mortals, a sepulchre and monument is raised to him in various places †.

St. Thomas of Canterbury, during his exile, residing for some time at Rheims, the little oratory which he used in the abbey of St. Nicaise became afterwards a celebrated chapel, bearing his name ‡. At Segovia

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. IV. 177.
† Antiquit. Rom. Liv. I. cap. 54.
‡ Hist. de Reims, Liv. II. 309.

again is still to be seen a little oratory by the river side, which was built expressly to preserve the memory of the holy father St. Dominick having preached in that spot. St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, after one of his journeys into England, is known to have passed through Orleans on his return to his diocese, by observing the oratories erected on his way; for such was the veneration of the people for his sanctity, that wherever he stopped to deliver an instruction the people used to erect a cross in memory of the fact, and after his death oratories were erected over these crosses. Such were those at Châtres, at Estampes, at Sarlas, and at other places *. On the north side of the city of Troyes there was a well, called the well of St. Julia, where tradition taught that this holy virgin had been martyred in the time of Aurelian. The well was arched over in form of a chapel, and an image of the saint was at the front, and a chapel was built at the side.

The mind, which rendered men so attached to these recollections is expressed by the good Jaulnay, canon of St. Rieule, at Senlis, where he says in his history of that city, "As Dean and Canon of the church, I am now inhabiting the spot where the saint resided; and what is a greater consolation, I drink of the water of which he used to drink, for the fountain is in my court. May I obtain from God the same sanctity!" Any indication of a spot having been once hallowed, was enough to endear it to the imagination of saintly men, as appears from the following circumstances, related in a very ancient chronicle. During the reign of the emperor Otho, at the time when the illustrious Gauzelin occupied the episcopal see of Toul, his brother Hardrad was devoted to arms, a brave knight, and greatly beloved on account of his goodness. They were of a noble race of Francs. It happened once that the soldier was out hunting, on the banks of the river Murt, when his dogs followed a ferocious boar, which endeavoured to escape from their devouring jaws, running for a long time through various alleys, till at length it took to the mountain above the town of Buxer, and having penetrated for some distance, it placed itself under a thorny tree till the pack of hounds came up with open mouths: the

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. X. p. 237.

beast stood intrepid under the tree, and the dogs for a long time remained stupid, and not daring to advance near the thicket, till at length the said knight, following on horseback, came to the spot and wondered at such an unprecedented circumstance. Leaping from his horse, he entered the thicket, and there he beheld an altar half demolished amidst other ruins: venerating the spot as holy, and suffering the beast to depart in safety, he returned home and related what he had seen to his brother the Pontiff, who, sending messengers to the place, and interrogating some of the oldest men in the neighbourhood, found that formerly there had been a church there, under the invocation of the blessed Mary, and that through age and neglect it had fallen to decay: they said, moreover, that lights were often observed over the spot during the night. The Bishop meditated upon constructing a church there, which was accordingly done, and on the stump of that withered tree an altar was raised; and after some time a convent was added for nuns of the order of St. Benedict, and the first abbess was Rothilda *.

But the Catholic religion enjoyed a divine privilege, by means of which all things were made to serve it as its own; and accordingly the site of the ancient heathen temples, and even, as in the case of the Pantheon at Rome, the very temples themselves of the heathens, were consecrated to the worship of the true God. The temple of Vesta, where the fire called sacred was preserved, is now the church of St. Theodore. The hall of the baths of Diocletian is the church of St. Mary of the angels. In the Flavian amphitheatre, where so many holy Christians were worried to death, you follow the via crucis to the fourteen altars which faith has erected there. The Temple of Bacchus was converted in the middle ages into the church which is now that of St. Urban. How soon the Christians converted works of pagan genius to the purposes of true religion, not disdaining even to use their sepulchres, may be seen at Pisa also, and in other cities. At Marseilles the church of des Accoules is built on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. At Ancona the Norman cathedral of St. Cyriaque upon the rock,

* Acta Tullensium Episcoporum apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

occupies the site of the ancient temple of Venus. The Carmelites of the Street of St. James at Paris, occupied the site of the Temple of Mercury; the abbey of St. Germain des Près that of the Temple of Isis. The wild or lovely spots of nature, too, which cruel and blind superstition had profaned, were now seized upon and sanctified by religion. The Isle of Sayne of the druidesses is become the Island of Saints, on the coast of Bretagne, at the extremity of the diocese of Quimper; the convent of the Holy Passionists now stands upon that alban mount where was once the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, to which the victorious legions used to be led in triumph; and that famous monastery of great St. Benedict, on the summit of Mount Cassino, was built on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. No foul delusion or dire heresy of disobedient mortals, could infect material walls, if men brought within them hearts pure and humble. The mosque in the Alhambra was consecrated to the Catholic faith when it passed under the dominion of the Castilian sovereigns. The cathedral of the Arian bishops at Ravenna, built by king Theodoric, their baptistery, and the mausoleum of their misbelieving king, became, in the sixth century, by the consecrating hands of Archbishop Agnello, churches of the faithful fold, under the invocation of the mother of God. Here we may remark how the spirit of the Catholic religion was favorable to the opinion of those philosophers who attach some degree of spiritual importance to locality; and how it cherished and refined that taste in the arts, which dictates the necessity for combining natural with artificial beauty. How grandly stands the gothic cathedral of Auxerre, crowning the hill under which that noble river winds its majestic way! And in the heart of cities, what stillness and repose and variety of beauteous form around those vast minsters, which seem to impart somewhat of their aspect to the dwellings accommodated to ordinary wants adjoining them. These churches had not theatres at their side, as we now mark at Como; nor prisons, as at Pavia; nor arsenals, as at Paris; nor barracks, as at Milan. Our ancestors would have been shocked at such monstrous approximations of things most opposite; but silence and sanctity announced the vicinity of the house of prayer. King Robert of France used to build many churches in the midst of great

forests *. See that little chapel on the steep mountain of the holy Saviour at Lugano, which seems to have been let down from heaven, to which it belongs more than to earth. Devout people contrived to fix it there to commemorate their love for the mother of God. See again that ancient chapel, on the brow of the wild and dangerous coast, where scarcely a blade of grass is found to grow. Beaten with the winds, the rain, and the waves, it stands solitary between the sea, the earth, and heaven. Its origin is unknown. Monument of the piety of ages of faith, it attests some secret of providence, or some mystery of grace. Even amidst the waves of their blue lakes, upon the stones which rose out of the water, like miniature rocks of the ocean, men built little oratories resembling chapels, where the boatman in his course, or the youth who sported in his little bark might love to stop and offer up a secret prayer to sanctify his labour or his play. Many such are seen on the lake of Lucerne. That beautiful marble cathedral in miniature on the banks of the Tagus near Lisbon, which is so chaste, so completely in harmony with the loveliness of nature, that without any great effort of fancy one might suppose it to have been deposited there by the hands of angels, was erected by the husband of queen Mary, as a grateful memorial of his escape from an attempt at assassination †.

At the same time the position of churches was in some instances determined originally without any regard to ancient associations, or afterwards changed by circumstances of mere spiritual utility. Thus the church of St. Mary of Peace at Rome, was erected by Pope Pius Sixtus IV. in gratitude for the peace which was obtained between Christian princes, without regard to its locality. The splendid churches of the Redeemer and of St. Roch at Venice, were similarly erected to commemorate the cessation of the plague, as was also the noble gothic church of Or-san-Michele at Florence, of which Giotto was one of the architects, on the cessation of the pestilence described by Boccacio; and with the same intention was that of St. Maria delle Grazie on the lake near Mantua, built by Francis Gonzaga and the Man-

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, VII. 211.

† Letters to Osorius on Portugal.

tuans in the year 1399. In the time of the episcopacy of Herbert Poore, the cathedral of Salisbury was removed from the heights of Old Sarum to a different site, for the motives thus expressed in the Pope's bull: "That forasmuch as your church is built within the compass of the fortifications of Sarum, it is subject to so many inconveniences and oppressions, that you cannot reside in the same without great corporal peril; for being situated on a lofty place, it is, as it were, continually shaken by the collision of the winds, so that whilst you are celebrating the divine offices you cannot hear one another the place itself is so noisy; and the roof of the church is constantly torn by tempestuous winds. Being within the fortifications, there is no access to it without the licence of the Castellan, so that it happens on solemn days, the faithful being willing to visit it, entrance is denied them by the keepers of the castle, saying that thereby the fortress is endangered." Pope Honorius, therefore, authorised the clergy to remove the cathedral to a more convenient place, where it now stands. At Ravenna, on the contrary, in the ninth century, it was found necessary by Archbishop John IX. to transfer to a church within the fortifications of the city the relics of St. Apollinaire, under whose invocation it was afterwards placed, as the basilica which had before contained them, being without the walls, was exposed to the attacks of the Sarassins.

Proceeding to speak of the building of the churches, it will be well to allude to the ceremonies observed at the first commencement as also at the final accomplishment of the work, for these will give us an idea of the importance ascribed to it. Here again we behold the operation of faith; for the church provided a solemn prayer to be offered up before the commencement of building, to beseech God in behalf of the architect, that his mind might be purified by the infusion of heavenly grace, that he might commence it by the divine inspiration, perfect it by divine assistance, and receive the reward of his labour in the land of the living *. San Micheli, the celebrated architect of Verona, never undertook any work without having mass solemnly sung to invoke the divine assistance. In the year 1700, when

* Ordo Roman. de officiis divinis.

the monks of Jumièges were about to enlarge their convent, by building a new dormitory, the first stone was blessed by the prior, and laid by the poorest man in the parish, who was newly clad for the occasion; and the general alms for the week were increased by one half, in order to draw down the blessing of Heaven upon the work of the labourers *. When the first stones of the new church of Crowland were laid, in the time of Abbot Joffridus, the Abbot gave a grand dinner to the assembled nobles and people, all in common, men and women, rich and poor. The refectory held four hundred, and counts and barons dined in the abbot's hall, and others dined in the cloisters, and others in the open air in the court, and there were more than five thousand men and women who dined there that day; and the Lord gave his benediction, and all were glad and rejoiced in the Lord; and the day was fine, and the whole passed in the utmost peace and good humour, and not a dispute or murmur was heard; and the monks served with their own hands †. A minute description remains of the building of Salisbury cathedral on the present site. "The primate, the young king Henry III., and all the other chief persons of the realm were invited to attend when the foundation should be laid. Mass was performed by the bishop in a temporary wooden chapel, after which he went to the ground barefoot, in procession with the clergy, singing the Litany. Thereafter, consecrating the ground, he addressed the people, and then laid the first stone in the name of the Pope, the second in that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the third for himself; the fourth was laid by William Longspear, Earl of Sarum; the fifth by Ela de Vitri his wife. Then the nobles who were present laid each a stone, and after them the dean, the chapter, the chancellor, the treasurer, and the archdeacon and canons of the church of Sarum, in their turn, the people weeping for joy, and contributing thereto their alms with a ready mind, according to the ability which God had given them. Several nobles, on their return from Wales (where the king was then concluding a treaty with Llewellyn ap Jor-

* Deshayes, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, 156.

† Petri Blesensis continuat. ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rerum Anglic. Scriptor. Tom. I. 120.

weth), repaired to Sarum to partake in the merit of the work which was going on, and laying each a stone, bound themselves in some special contribution for seven years. In the course of five the building was so far advanced that all the canons were cited to be present at the first celebration of mass. On the eve preceding, the bishop consecrated an altar in the east to the Trinity and all Saints, and made offerings for the priests who should for ever officiate there, and for the lamps which should be kept ever burning. He consecrated an altar in the north part of the church to St. Peter, and one in the south to St. Stephen and all martyrs. On the morrow, being Michaelmas Day, Archbishop Langton preached in the new church to a great assemblage of persons, and sung the first mass, Otto the Nuncio being present, as also the Archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops of Durham, Bath, Chichester, Rochester, and Evreux in Normandy. In the course of the week, the young king arrived with the Justiciary, Hubert de Burgh; and Henry, after hearing mass, offered ten marks of silver and a piece of silk, and Hubert made a vow that he would give a gold text for the service of the altar, with certain precious stones, and more precious relicks of diverse saints, in honour of the blessed Virgin. The young king then offered a ruby ring, that both the gold of the ring and the stone might be employed to adorn the covers of the text; at the same time he gave a gold cup weighing ten marks. The said text was presented first by proxy for Hubert, and afterwards offered by himself in person on the altar with great devotion." In the cathedral of Florence, there is an inscription which commemorates the dedication of that church, in 1436, by Pope Eugene IV., and it adds, that such was the multitude of people assembled, that the Pope could not well have passed from his lodging at Santa Maria Novella, if there had not been a beautiful wooden bridge erected along the entire way. So again, when Pope Pascal II., being in France, came to La Charité on the Loire, for the purpose of consecrating a church there, the festival was most splendid. Besides the court of the Pope, a number of the bishops and nobles of France, assisted with an immense multitude of people, who came there from all parts. On the dedication of the abbey church of Ely, when rebuilt by the abbot

Brithnod, after it had been destroyed by the Danes, there was a solemn feast for seven days, celebrated with great joy; "and from that time forward," says the chronicle, "the immaculate sacrifice was daily offered to the Lord in the odour of sweetness *." When the magnificent church of St. Denis had been rebuilt by Suger, the ceremony of the consecration was of the most solemn and pompous description. The historian of Suger gives a minute account of the whole. The king and a multitude of bishops were present. Thibaud, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated the high altar; and at the same moment the other twenty altars of the church were severally consecrated by bishops of France; and such was the beautiful order observed in the august ceremony, that there was not the least confusion amidst such an extraordinary multiplication of offices, so that nothing could be more edifying or majestic †. Even amidst these magnificent ceremonies, the holy men of ancient times found opportunity to practise their favourite virtue. Such was the humility of St. Swithin, bishop of Winchester, who always paid diligent attention to restoring the decayed churches of his diocese, that whenever he had to consecrate a new church, however distant the place might be, he would never go on horseback or in a carriage, but always on foot; and that this might not be a subject of ridicule to ignorant people, or of boasting to the proud, he used to avoid the observation of men, and would make the journey at night, going the whole way a nocturnal traveller,—Solitariæ sanctitatis amator. At his death he ordered that his body should be buried without the church, where the people might tread upon his grave, and where the rain and the water-spouts might fall upon it ‡.

The office of the dedication is of the most solemn description, and the longest that occurs in the whole order. At each place the anniversary of the dedication of which the interior walls bore a perpetual memorial, was observed as a festival for ever, and that of the dedication of St. John Lateran, the metropolitan of the whole world, was

* Hist. Eliensis, Gale, Hist. Brit. Liv. II. cap. I. Tom. III.

† Hist. de Suger, Liv. VI.

‡ Wilhel. Malmesbur. de Gestis Pontif. Anglorum, Liv. II. Harpsefield, Hist. Eccles. Sæcul. Nono.

a festival of the universal church. Each church, besides its primal dedication to God, in honour of the holy cross, was placed under the especial invocation of some particular saint whose name it afterwards bore. The minor churches were generally in this manner commemorative of some local interest of piety, bearing the names of saints whose memory was in benediction within that particular diocese; but all the churches of the Cistercian order were consecrated under the invocation of the blessed Virgin *. That these magnificent ceremonies were conducted with the most profound sense of the spiritual nature of religion, might be learned from every allusion which occurs to them in old writings. "We read of the ancient saints," says a preacher in the thirteenth century, "that they adorned the front of the temple with golden crowns, and dedicated an altar to the Lord, and that there was great joy among the people. If they were zealous and devout in the material temple, should not we be much more devout in respect to the dedication of the immaterial temple in which God dwells with all his saints? Seek ye the spiritual sense in the letter, the hidden honey in the wax, and let your souls delight in the living God, and in every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God; for then by the ladder of holy words your souls will ascend to the height of heaven, being filled with the thoughts of spirit and of God alone. Brethren there is the great festival of the dedication of a church where is the purity of an innocent life, the liberty of a good conscience, and the sweetness of spiritual joy: there is the true beauty of the temple, and the adornment of the church with branches and odoriferous flowers where is true contrition of heart, humble confession of mouth, and worthy satisfaction for sins committed: there is the joyful dedication of a new altar, where is new fervour of devotion with thanksgiving from the heart's core. He it is that truly adorns the front of the temple with golden crowns, who reads, writes, and preaches the illustrious acts of the saints: he it is that suspends golden shields in the church, who describes to others the bright deeds of the fathers of the Old and New Testament, the contests of the martyrs, the labours of the confessors, the trophies of virgins and widows. He paints beautiful images

* Card. Bona de Divina Psal. 256.

who edifies his neighbour by his life and manners. Lo! there are as many golden shields in the church as there are names of saints, as many festivals as there are good examples. O what a festival is the dedication of the church triumphant, where all enemies being subdued, the saints and the angels together rejoice, clothed in white robes and crowned with golden crowns that will never perish *!" Let us now attend to some of the most peculiar characteristics in the structure of the churches. It was not on account of the temples of the ancients having been so built, that those who prayed within them had their faces to the east, that a similar custom became prevalent with the Christians. Cardinal Bona supposes that the first reason was, that as exiles and pilgrims we might turn towards the land whence we were ejected, to the terrestrial paradise which God planted in Eden in the east. St. Basil says, that few are aware of this reason, though the church has it in view to direct us to our ancient country †. The most ancient Basilicas were built always in the direction of the equinoctial east, for the sun was then supposed to rise over the seat of Paradise; another reason was suggested by the fact, that it was in the east that the spiritual sun of justice, Christ our God appeared upon the earth. St. Justin Martyr assigns another cause, that it is the duty of men to devote whatever is best to God, and that part of the world was considered the most excellent and noble ‡; to which opinion Dante alludes where, speaking of the east, he says, "that region where the world is liveliest §." It was another reason that Christ was the true light and the true east, and therefore St. Chrysostom says, "turning from the west, we look towards the east, expecting the omnipotent God ‖;" and St. Athanasius also shows that we look towards the east, not supposing that God is circumscribed by any limits, but because God is the true light, and therefore turning to the created light, we adore the Creator of that light; and St. Clemens Alexandrinus speaks to the same effect ¶.

* Thomas de Kempis. Sermonom. Pars III. 10.
† De Spirit. Sanc. c. 27.
‡ Justin. qu. 118.
§ Parad. V.
‖ 101 Hom. in Zach. cap. 6.
¶ Strom. Liv. VII.

Elpidius who lived for twenty-five years in a cave on the top of a mountain, had such a regard for this symbolical practice, that he was said to have always looked towards the east; and John Moschus, in his Spiritual Meadow, relates of a young man, who was falsely accused by soldiers, that he entreated them to suspend him with his face towards the east, that he might die regarding it: but the chief reason for this observance is mentioned by Damascenus and Cassiodorus, that our Lord upon the cross had his face directed to the west, and therefore we pray turned to the east, that we may behold the face of Christ. Hence, perhaps, in many languages of Europe, we say to find the east, when we express our wish to determine our relative situation to the heavens. The Church of God adhered to this custom with more strictness, as it was usual with all who separated from her communion to disregard it. The early heretics sometimes chose to turn to the west, or to the south, or to the north. The Sarassins turned to the south, the Manichæans to the north, but the Jews prayed towards the west *. At the present day, it may be observed at Rome, that the old churches are turned to the east, such as those of St. Paul, that of the three fountains, St. Lorenzo, the Holy Cross, St. Agnes, and others, but that some others have the altar at the west end, as at St. Peter's, St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, St. Mary in Trastevere, St. Cecilia, and St. Sebastian. Perhaps this may arise from the ritual in the Basilicas, in which the priest turns to the people, so that here he would regard the east. Walafried Strabo, in the ninth century observes, that some churches and altars were turned from the east, although in general it was the rule to build them in such a direction, that men might pray looking to the east. The church of St. Benedict in Paris, having its high altar to the west in the thirteenth century bore the name of St. Benedictus male versus, but being rebuilt in the reign of Francis I. with its altar to the east, it was afterwards called St Benoit le bétourné benè versus †. The conclusion of Walafried Strabo, the Abbot of Fulda, shows the judgment of the middle ages on this question. "Unusquisque in sensu suo abundet.

* Bona de Divina Psalmodia, 165.

† De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. III. ii. 359.

Propè est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate, et longè a peccatoribus salus: quia neque ab oriente, nec ab occidente patet locus fugiendi, quoniam Deus judex est, hunc humiliat, et hunc exaltat *." When religion made to pass under the yoke of the cross the charms and the genius of Greece, her architecture, like the wisdom of the ancients, was symbolical, and fraught with typic and mysterious lore. These buildings are living, the city of God is intelligence itself. Nothing is matter in the abodes of spirit. Nothing is dead in the places of eternal existence. "The Church in which the people assemble to praise God signifies," says Walafried Strabo, "the holy Catholic Church, which is constructed in heaven of living stones. This house of the Lord is firmly built, the corner stone of its foundation being Christ, upon which, and not beside it, is the foundation of the Apostles and prophets; while the upper stones are Jews and Gentiles from the four parts of the world coming unto Christ. All the stones are polished and square, that is, holy, pure, and firm, disposed by the hand of the great Architect so as to remain for ever. Of these some are borne and do not bear, answering to the simpler members of the Church; others are borne and do bear, answering to those of the middle class; others only bear and are not borne, excepting by the foundation, which is Christ; for in this edifice by how much any one excels more eminently, by so much the more does he humbly sustain others; but one charity cements all together in one body. The cock on the summit denotes the vigilance, and eloquence, and prudence of the preacher, who excites himself with his own wings before he calls others. It turns against the wind to show that he argues against the evil customs of the world, and applies himself to resist the wolves. It is seated on an iron rod, which denotes the straight-forward and just doctrine of the preacher; and this rod is placed upon a cross, surmounting a globe, to represent the triumph of the faith over the world. The Church is adorned splendidly within and not without, to imply that all its glory is internal." "Licet enim sit exterius despicabilis, in anima tamen, quæ sedes Dei est, radiat." Thus speaks Hughes of St. Victor, in his Mirror of the

* De Rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap. 4.

Church *. A modern German writer, in treating of the Christian churches of Germany, and the public edifices of the middle ages, explains the necessity for considering them in this mysterious symbolical point of view. Each of these gothic cathedrals, saith he, was only a symbol of that magnificent invisible Church which, pervading the whole state, had spread its roots to the lowest depths of life, and raised its branches, its flowers, and foliage to the sublimest height: he shows in theology, philosophy, science, policy, and in the ecclesiastical constitution of the middle age, the principle of that social order and harmony which distinguished this remarkable epoch, and which are symbolically represented in these temples; for society was then constructed on the plan of the cross; Rome was placed as an altar at the point of intersection,—mystical altar, containing as in a tabernacle the source by which faith is communicated. Around it was gathered the devout multitude, united in one faith and one hope. The light of the divine sun, too brilliant for the eyes of mortals, descended softened and coloured by the fathers and doctors of the Old and New Testament. At the extremity were placed the emperors and kings who guard the church and defend the door, as we see at Exeter, and at the church of St. Zeno, at Verona, at the entrance of which stand Roland and Oliver with drawn swords. Durandal is one of them, guarding the gate, over which are the three queens who contributed to found the church, Bertrade the mother of Charlemagne, his wife, and his daughter Ermengarde, wife of Didier. The towers were placed at the west, for the royal power in relation to the Superior Power is as something that passes away and dies. Horned demons attached themselves to the walls of the edifice, and grinned horribly blaspheming against God, and this too even in the interior. All the arts and sciences paid homage there to the divinity, and all learning bowed down to him. Aristotle was placed near St. Peter, and Virgil near Isaiah. It is impossible to separate these monuments from the faith of the middle ages, because they

* Hugo de Sanct Victor, Speculum de Mysteriis Eccles. cap. 1.

are intimately united as soul and body *. According to this mystical interpretation, the corbels carved grotesque and grim, are no longer a difficulty. Besides, it should be remembered that these men's mirth was innocent, and their sportive fancy all life and cheerfulness. They had a playful imagination which did not seem to them in the least inconsistent with gravity and holiness, their gravity being sincere, not affected; and their holiness the result of faith, not of a wavering shadowy opinion. They feared nothing, and therefore not the conceptions of their mirthful mood; they evidently sought contrasts. Witness the books of hours of Rome, Paris, and Rouen, which were printed in the fifteenth century, in which facetious miniatures were placed in the borders of large funereal engravings of the vespers of the dead. In the same book, as on the same walls, we find paintings or images of the passion which can draw tears, so full are they of angelic tenderness and awful sanctity, by the side of these grotesque figures and monsters to conceive which Leonardo de Vinci had recourse to that extraordinary expedient of filling his chamber with scorpions and toads, and even the genius of Michael Angelo disdained not sometimes to employ itself. Possibly, indeed, these carved corbels may have been designed to convey a secret, profound instruction, and to awaken minds that would have been to any other prospect of the trials of the human course terror-proof; for their ghastly grin is caused by the absurdity implied in every defeat in the spiritual combat, and thus shame and guilt are shown inseparable. True the temptations that assail spirits of human kind in their course from youth to age, the wiles of the demon to delude them, the snares laid to make them captive as the prelude to the horrid agony of hell, are the last subjects, if we regard their origin and their consequences, that could be associated with any but solemn or melancholy thoughts; and yet on the other hand, if we attend to the detail and form of their development, which these figures are designed to indicate, and for a moment forget the woe in

† Grund und Aufriz der Christlich-Germanischen Kirchen undt Staats-Gebaüder im Mittelalter, by Adolph Marcus. Bonn. 1828.

store, the very gravest philosopher, Democritus himself, will be compelled to relax into a smile, albeit provoking bitter moans. Here, for instance, is a man born in heresy, moved to renounce it, and yet who declares that he is afraid to unloose the clasps of a book of Catholic devotion, adding, that he feels assured it would lead to his entering upon the surer way: here is another, who has been received into the fold of safety, and who shortly after being seized with melancholy, accuses the gentle guide, who had admitted him within the promised land, saying, that he has caused him to embrace a life which will deprive him of pleasure. Thus men seem like children, frightened with grotesque masks, or left blindfolded in order that their successive falls may furnish matter for the laughter of those who look on. Some of these corbels were probably intended to show the contrast between the moral and even physical deformity belonging to the spirit of the world and to heresy, and the angelic grace of faithful souls: they bear that expression of vulgar mockery and suppressed buffoonery marked upon the countenance of Arius, in the painting of the Council of Nice, at the Vatican, a look which is always characteristic of those opposed dogmatically to the Catholic religion. The illustrious Hammer attempted to find corroboration for his accusation of the Templars in these figures of animals, some of them imaginative and grotesque, carved upon their churches which he conceived symbolical of the Gnostic heresy, though he might have remarked that they occur also on other churches, which never belonged to that order, as on that of St. Michael, at Pavia, which was built in the sixth century, on the marble pulpit in the cathedral of Ravenna, which is a work of the same age, on the Baptistery of Parma, which was built in the thirteenth, and on the columns of St. Germain-des-Près at Paris, of which the capitals are but another development of the same imagination which is admired by artists in those of the Basilica of St. Lorenzo at Rome. It is not surprising that such ideal forms and combinations should have given rise to sundry interpretations by German writers, when we remember that even the devout images and devices which Flamel carved on the churches, and hospitals, and charnel houses at Paris, to which he was a benefactor,

seemed to the French antiquarians of the last century so many symbols of alchemy, though to ordinary eyes nothing could be more simple or devout *. The custom of representing upon churches the various tribes of animals which the earth, and water, and air produce, may have originated in that verse which calls upon them to praise the Lord: though some of the Italians go too far in affirming with Ciampine †, that the Christians merely borrowed this usage from the Greeks, without any reference to an allegorical meaning. St. Michael's church, at Pavia, and the Baptistery at Parma, will never admit of such a conclusion. I would rather say, that many of these devices, carved in that old and simple age, humble, but profound, intended to represent the lofty mysteries of our divine faith, might remind one of the reply which is given in an ancient book to a philosopher, who enquired the meaning of a symbol which he saw represented in a temple: "The explanation will be attended with danger to yourself, since if you understand what is delivered here, you will become wise and happy; but if you do not, you will afterwards have an evil, a foolish, and a wretched end; for this is like the enigma of the Sphinx, which kills those who do not understand it. So likewise this symbol, if you do not profit by it, will kill you, not at once, indeed, as if you were devoured by the Sphinx, but gradually it will consume and destroy you, like those delivered to a slow punishment, and it will rise up in judgment hereafter to condemn you; but if any one should understand it, then, on the contrary, madness and ignorance will perish, but the man will escape safe, and lead ever afterwards a happy and a blessed life ‡." The exterior walls, too, as at Melrose, presented in characters, legible at once to all, the scrolls that teach thee to live and die. Over a door of the Baptistery at St. John Lateran, there is written, "Diligite alterutrum." The word "Humilitas," the motto of the Borromean family, meets your eye in vast letters on every part of the cathedral of Milan. Over the ancient gate of the church of St. George, in that city, was an invitation to the faithful in Leonine verses.

* Hist. Crit. de Flamel, 26. 200. 392.
† Vet. Monum. T. I. cap. iv. p. 35.
‡ Cebetis Tabula.

Janua sum vitæ, precor omnes, introvenite;
Per me transibunt, qui cœli gaudia quærunt,
Virgine qui natus, nullo de patre creatus,
Intrantes salvet, redeuntes ipsa gubernet.

In a lower arch is an inscription in Græco-barbaric letters which Duc Holstenius and Leon Allatius interpret to be

Vitæ da Porta Deus quærentibus istam.

In the porch of a little lonely chapel on the way side, between the Basilicas of St. Paul and St. Sebastian, without the walls of Rome, I read this epigram, which contains a summary of Catholic manners.

Fide Deo. dic sæpe preces. peccare caveto.
Sis humilis. pacem dilige. magna fuge.
Multa audi. dic pauca. tace secreta. minori
Parcite. majori cedite. ferto parem.
Propria fac. non differ opus. sis æquus egeno.
Pacta tuere. pati disce. memento mori.

On entering the cathedral of Sienna, one's eyes are arrested with these words in vast letters of black marble on the pavement. "Castissimum virginis templum caste memento ingredi," and on the exterior steps, one sees the figures of the publican and the Pharisee going to the temple.

With respect to the external character of churches, it may be sufficient to make brief mention of that which served to distinguish them at a distance, alluding to the toll of those vast bells, sometimes of forty thousand pounds weight, whose sound used occasionally to split the thickest walls and to overthrow huge towers, of the invention of which Nola and Campania may be justly proud. The bell, which may be said to be the expression as well as the invention of the middle ages, in the same manner as the drum of the Turks from whom it was adopted, may be considered the symbol of a noisy, unreflecting and unspiritual society, is the subject of an immortal chaunt by one of the greatest poets of later ages, but in point of sublime and impressive imagery that admirable song, does not surpass the language of the church respecting it, as, when in the office of its

consecration, the bishop prays that as the voice of Christ appeased the troubled sea, God would be pleased to endue that sound with such virtue, that it may intimidate the enemy and encourage the faithful people; and that as the Holy Ghost formerly descended upon David when he struck the chords of the harp, and the thunder of the air repelled adversaries when Samuel offered up the lamb, in like manner, at the sound of that vase, passing through the clouds, flights of angels may surround the assembly of the Church, and save the minds and bodies of the believers with an everlasting protection. Well might one conclude that the arch-heretics had read this prayer with trembling, when with such a determined will they refused permission to the Catholics under their subjection to make use of bells. Indeed, for their zeal in removing them from the churches which they seized one may otherwise account. "When I was a child," says Sir Thomas Spelman, "I heard much talk of the pulling down of bells in every part of my country of Norfolk, then fresh in memory. And the sum of the speech usually was, that in sending them over sea, some were drowned in one haven, some in another, as at Lynn Wells or Yarmouth. The truth of it was lately discovered by God himself, for he sending such a dead neap as no man living ever saw the like, the sea fell so far back from the land at Hunstanton, that the people going much farther than ever before to gather oysters, they there found a bell with the mouth upwards, sunk into the ground to the very brim. They carried the news to Sir Hamon Lestrange, lord of the town, and of wreck and sea rights there, who shortly after sought to have raised up and gained the bell, but the sea never since going so far back, they could never find the place again. The bells from Edinburgh being pulled down and shipped to be carried into the low countries were all drowned in Leigh haven. Sir Hugh Paulett pulled down the bells of the churches of Jersey, and sending them to St. Malo's in Britain, fourteen of them were drowned at the entrance of that harbour. Whereupon it is a by-word at this day in those parts, when any strong east wind bloweth there, to say, 'The bells of Jersey now ring *.'"

* The History of Sacrilege, p. 284.

With the solemn magnificence of the gothic cathedral, most of the northern nations are familiar, but religion knew how to adapt her architecture to the locality and the climate. There is sanctity, and faith, and the deep thoughts of a revering spirit, in the mysterious piles of York and Canterbury, but there is something of the beauty of paradise at those eastern steps of St. John Lateran, when the morning sun gilds the blue distant hills of Tusculum. To form an adequate idea of that perfect loveliness which is derived from the union of noble edifices with the delightful aspect of nature, one must see the dome and church of the Vatican, rising in the midst of gardens with mountains beyond, from the groves of the villa Doria Pamphili, or from the bowers of St. Onufrio's holy cloister, or one should see St. John Lateran and the Basilica of the holy cross from the vineyards which are among the baths of Titus or of Caracalla, or the tower and domes of St. Mary Major, from the gardens near the gate of St. John. But we should never finish if we pursued this path. Let us at length approach and enter the churches; for here is matter that will banish the recollection of all trivial things. "Hail! sacred tabernacles, where thou, O Lord, dost descend at the voice of a mortal! Hail, mysterious altar, where faith comes to receive its immortal food. When the last hour of the day has groaned in thy solemn towers, when its last beam fades and dies away in the dome, when the widow holding her child by the hand has wept on the pavement, and retraced her steps like a silent ghost, when the sigh of the distant organ seems lulled to rest with the day to awaken again with the morning, when the nave is deserted, and the Levite attentive to the lamps of the holy place with a slow step hardly crosses it again—then is the hour when I come to glide under thy obscure vault, and to seek, while nature sleeps, him who aye watches! Ye columns, who veil the sacred asylums where my eyes dare not penetrate, at the feet of thy immoveable trunks I come to sigh. Cast over me your deep shades, render the darkness more obscure, and the silence more profound! Forests of porphyry and marble, the air which the soul breathes under thy arches is full of mystery and of peace! Let love and anxious cares seek shade and solitude under the green shelter of groves, to sooth their secret wounds!

O darkness of the sanctuary, the eye of religion prefers thee to the wood which the breeze disturbs. Nothing changes thy foliage, thy still shade is the image of motionless eternity! Eternal pillars, where are the hands that formed thee? Quarries, answer, where are they? Dust, the sport of winds, our hands which carved the stone, turn to dust before it, and man is not jealous! He dies, but his holy thought animates the cold stone, and rises to heaven with thee. Forums, palaces, crumble to ashes, time casts them away with scorn; the foot of the traveller who tramples upon them lays bare their ruins; but as soon as the block of stone leaves the side of the quarry, and is carved for thy temple, O Lord, it is thine: thy shadow imprints upon our works the sublime seal of thine own immortality! Lord, I used to love to pour out my soul upon the summit of mountains, in the night of deserts, beneath rocks where roared the voice of mighty seas, in presence of heaven, and of the globes of flame whose pale fires sprinkle the fields of air: methought that my soul oppressed before immensity, enlarged itself within me, and on the winds and floods, or on the scattered fire, from thought to thought, would spring to lose itself in thee! I sought to mount but thou vouchsafest to descend! Thou art near to hear us. Now I love the obscurity of thy temple; it is an island of peace in the ocean of the world, a beacon of immortality! Inhabited alone by thee and by death, one hears from afar the flood of time which roars upon this border of eternity! It seems as if our voice, which only is lost in the air, concentrated in these walls by this narrow space, resounds better to our soul, and that the holy echo of thy sonorous vault, bears along with it the sigh which seeks thee in its ascent to heaven, more fervent before it can evaporate! How can it signify in what words the soul exhales itself before its author? Is there a tongue equal to the ecstacy of the heart? Whatever my lips may articulate, this pressed blood which circulates, this bosom which breathes in thee, this heart which beats and expands, these bathed eyes, this silence, all speak, all pray in me. So swell the waves at the rising of the king of day, so revolve the stars, mute with reverence and love, and thou comprehendest their silent hymn. Ah, Lord, in like manner comprehend me: hear what I pronounce not; silence is the highest voice

of a heart that is overpowered with thy glory." It is Lamartine who thus speaks, but every one who enters here perceives within his mind the gift of genius high, though it may not be given him to develope it in words. Some men affect to doubt the importance of the grandeur of churches; but why then, as Fleury asks, can they not pray in a tavern resounding with tumult, in a guard-house or in a busy street? Why avoid such places, unless they find it necessary to assist the weakness of their senses? It is not God who has need of temples and oratories, but it is we who need them *. This was well understood in the ages of faith. Of the treaty concluded between the Prussians and the Teutonic order, in presence of the Pope's legate, one of the articles stipulated that the churches should be built in so beautiful and stately a manner, that the devotion of the people might be more assisted in the churches than in the woods where they had been accustomed to offer up their impure worship †. The soul being acted upon by the passions of the body, and as Vincent of Beauvais says, being led out of itself by sensible forms, forgets what it was, and remembers nothing of itself but what it sees. Learning, the study of wisdom or philosophy, repairs this, and reminds us of our nature ‡; but by availing herself of the forms of material order, religion in many instances removed the necessity for their assistance, or rather converted the very senses themselves into teachers of wisdom, and made them the handmaids of philosophy; and thus the space within the walls of a Catholic church became completely another world, for those who have need of higher and nobler emotions than are inspired by the dull phantoms of a sensual life, and the very pleasures which elsewhere endangered and misled men, were here employed in guiding them to truth. "There is no soul so harsh as not to feel itself moved with some reverence on considering this solemn vastness of our churches, the diversity of ornaments, and the order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout sound of our organs, and the religious harmony of our voices. Even those who enter them with disdain feel a certain shudder-

* Mœurs des Chrestiens, 241.
† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, II. 630.
‡ Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. I. c. 23.

ing in their heart, and a kind of awe which makes them distrust their own opinion." This is what Montaigne says. But let us proceed and examine the various parts of the interior. Dante borrows a noble simile from the amaze of one who enters:

> And as a pilgrim when he rests
> Within the temple of his vow looks round
> In breathless awe, and hopes some time to tell
> Of all its goodly state; e'en so mine eyes
> Cours'd up and down *.

But who can describe these wondrous sanctuaries which have survived the desolation of wars, the fall of empires, the rage of heresies, the confusion of earthquakes and plagues, which like St. Theodore's at Ravenna, have been served at different periods by the two great monastic families of the east and west,—these piles, on which art and wisdom seem to have lavished all their stores, the form of beauty, the secret mystery, the only remaining memorial of strange histories of ancient times, the emblematical lesson of the wise and holy! Here is one still retaining somewhat of its grandeur, although since its erection, dynasties have passed away, seas have receded, atmospheres changed. It still retains its pillars of ancient oriental marble and porphyry, its altars covered with lapis lazuli and alabaster. Solitary in the midst of a vast plain, the Basilica of San Apollinare in Classe, stands the sole vestige of a once flourishing city, now deserted, and visited only by some devout friar, who leaves Ravenna under a scorching sun to say mass at the tomb of its martyr and apostle. An inscription over the entrance relates its history. Erected in the year 534, it beheld the overthrow of the city which gave it birth; laid waste by the Sarassins, profaned by the barbarians, and pillaged by invading enemies, it was finally abandoned in consequence of the pestilential air to which the plain became subject. Here is another, the Basilica of San Vitale, which, in the time of the Goths, was considered the masterpiece of art; on which are Mosaics representing the offerings of Justinian and the Empress Theodora. On the walls of another, the Basilica of St. John the

* Paradise XXXI.

Evangelist, you see carved the events of past imperial story. On those of St. Apollinare within the city, you have a representation in Mosaic of Ravenna, as it existed in the sixth century when that church was built; and there is shown also the city of Classe which then existed, of which now not a trace remains. These churches, with their historic imagery, their emblematical lore, their long series of saintly figures, bring the mind back to the first ages of Christianity, and to the earliest traditions of the human race. No one but some learned priest can explain who were many of these meek men of God, and these humble bearers of the martyr's palm. Who, for instance, are these twenty-two holy virgins with crowns in their hands, and these white robed fathers in long procession which are represented in Mosaic, on each side of the nave of St. Apollinare at Ravenna? No one but some eastern scholar can explain the secret allegory. What mean these figures with such art and care inlaid? Crosses upon sleeping wolves, crosses enclosing doves, crosses surrounded with mystic characters, clusters of vines and corn, palms on which doves are seated, anchors from which fish hang suspended, anchors within the spiral folds of dolphins, men who angle by a brook, and others who carry a lamb, stags that run to the mountain stream, and lambs which bear upon their heads the sign which gave empire to Constantine, serpents twined round a tau, and a hand within a wreath letting loose the thunder? All these are seen along the nave of St. Apollinare in Classe. What mean these fruit trees on which youths are mounted, at the roots of which horrible dragons are vomiting flames, while under them dogs are contending for the fruit which falls to the ground? What mean these representations of the sun and moon in chariots with accompanying circles, in which are awful phantoms sounding trumpets, all which we see carved over the portals of the Baptistery at Parma? What are these allusions in arabesques, these profound moralities of the middle age, which are upon the church of St. Zeno at Verona, or these supposed prophetic emblems which are upon the pavement of St. Mark? No one again but some learned and profound philosopher can trace the vast plan to embody and pourtray here the proofs of the universality of the Christian religion; for these it is evident the very pavement of the gothic

cathedral of Sienna shows. There one sees, beautifully pourtrayed in black and white marble, by means of an art which is now forgotten, the figures of Hermes Trismegistus, who received his learning from Zoroastres, and who lived in Egypt a contemporary of Moses, presenting to a Gentile and to a Christian a book, in which is written sentences from the Pemandro, as "That God who made all things, the Creator of the earth and of the stars, has greatly loved his Son, and called him the Holy Word." There too stands Socrates, with a book, receiving a palm from a woman sitting, who represents Virtue, who with the other hand offers a book to Crates, who is represented emptying a cask of jewels, in order to receive it. This profound view is taken also in that ancient painting of St. Thomas, by Traini, pupil of Andrea Orcagna, which is in the Church of St. Catharine at Pisa, where the angel of the school is represented sitting, surrounded by his disciples, with Plato and Aristotle on each side, looking up to him, and presenting him with their works, while those of many other philosophers, with those of heretics, are seen torn in pieces.

Hence, even without reference to the ordinary impressions of devotion, to enter some of these churches at Rome, or Florence, or Pisa, or Ravenna, is like hearing for the first time some grand poetry. One feels a sudden cold chill run through one's veins, the heart is pierced with dread, and if one did not practise some of those little familiar artifices, which the sublimity of the Catholic ritual obliges men to learn for themselves, one's tears would break forth in abundance. In the Basilica of San Vitale at Ravenna, are inscribed broken sentences, awful and pathetic, which come upon us as if it were the voice of the martyrs: such words as these occur, "Consider our victory;" and again, "Filiæ Jerusalem, venite et videte martires cum coronis quibus Deus coronavit eos in die solemnitatis et lætitiæ;" and again, "Doctrinæ sublimitatem attende." Indeed, unless he be evidently one of the dry-eyed race, genus siccoculum, as old Plautus calls it, it is no cause for wonder if a stranger should be seen even to weep on entering St. John Lateran, that mother church of Rome and of the world, or St. Peter's, or the vast and solemn Basilica of the Santa Croce at Florence, where are the tombs of Michael Angelo, Alfieri, Leonard Bruni, Cavalcanti, Aretin, and the

sublime monument erected, after three attempts frustrated, to Dante.

Independent of what meets the eye, who can remain unmoved when he is told, as under the domes of Parma painted by Corregio, that these walls around him were consecrated by Pope Paschal II., in presence of St. Bernard and of the Countess Matilda? or as in the church of Einsiedlin, that they witnessed an angelic dedication, which dispensed with mortal lips, as was revealed to the holy Conrad, when he had repaired thither from Constance to dedicate them? or as in the Cathedral of Florence, that they beheld the council, under Eugene IV., when the Greeks were reunited with the Latin church? Who can behold unmoved in the Church of Dole that pulpit, from which preached St. Francis of Sales, that well-spring from which such copious floods of living truth have issued? or in the Church of St. Theodore at Ravenna, that from which the first pastors who succeeded St. Apollinare preached to the people? or at the entrance of the Church of St. Eustorgio at Milan, that from which St. Peter Martyr refuted the proud Manichæans? Does he only desire to examine the wonders of art? who can sufficiently admire the brazen gates of the Baptistery of Florence, or of the Cathedral of Pisa, or the sepulchral lore of the Campo Santo? It would require many weeks to go round that Baptistery, the work of Diotisalvi in the twelfth century, and mark all its wondrously wrought stones, representing holy, wise emblems, and stories from sacred history. From the portals of that at Parma one may learn the genealogies of Christ and of his blessed mother, which are there carved with analogous inscriptions in semi-gothic characters. Nor can I omit again to mention thee, thou beauteous Temple of Sienna, which the humble men of former days, in times too of their calamity, erected to the glory of the Eternal, and through the love of Mary. With a mystic joy and wondrous eagerness did I go about thy sacred walls, and trace out the emblematic lore engraven upon them. With what glad surprise did I recognize beneath my feet the verses of the great Mantuan, who from the archives of the Palatine mount, which Augustus permitted him to examine, published the prophecy of the Cumanean Sybil, that already the last age of her song was come, that a great order of ages was again born, that a virgin hath returned,

and Saturnian kingdoms, and a new offspring had descended from the high heavens; fruitful lines, which were a light to Stacius when first he opened his eyes to God. There too, as in the chapel of Loretto, and as in the Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua, were represented the whole mysterious sisterhood, whose prophecies to the Gentiles respecting an universal king, made Rome tremble, though both Varro and Fenestella affirm that they had been gathered by the Romans from all parts of the world where they could be heard of, and laid up in the capitol, where no one might see them but only the fifteen magistrates to whose care they were confided. There I marked the Erythræan Sybil, whom Varro and Apollodorus mention, whose acrostics Cicero translated, as Constantine bore witness, and who is saying, "De excelso cœlorum habitaculo prospexit Dominus humiles suos. Et nascetur in diebus novissimis de virgine Hebræa in cunabulis terræ." There also was Sibylla Cumæa, whom Piso names in his Annals. Her prophecy is this: "Et mortis fatum finiet, trium dierum somno suscepto. Tunc a mortuis regressus in lucem veniet primum resurrectionis initium ostendens." There was Sibylla Delphica, of whom Chrysippus speaks, and she says, "Ipsum tuum cognosce Deum qui Dei filius est." Sibylla Lybica was there, whom Euripides mentions, and she says, "Immanus iniquas veniet, dabunt Deo alapas manibus incestis, miserabilis et ignominiosus miserabilibus spem præbebit." There too was Sibylla Hellespontica, born in the Trojan field, of whom Heraclides says that she lived in the time of Cyrus: she predicts the inhospitable cruelty and the darkness of three hours; and at her side I beheld Sibylla Phrygia, saying, "Tuba de cœlo vocem luctuosam emittet, tartareum chaos ostendet dehiscens terra, venient ad tribunal Dei reges omnes; Deus ipse judicans pios simul et impios. Tunc demum impios in ignem et tenebras mittet, qui autem pietatem tenent iterum vivent." The next was Sibylla Samia, of whom Eratosthenes speaks; and she says, "Tu enim stulta Judæa Deum tuum non cognovisti lucentem mortalium mentibus, sed et spinis coronasti horridumque fel miscuisti." Lastly there was Sibylla Albunea Tiburtina, so called by those who worshipped her as god upon the Tibur; and she says, "Nascitur Christus in Bethleem. Annunciabitur in Nazareth regnante Tauro Pacifico fun-

datore quietis. O felix mater cujus ubera illum lactabunt." But here a question occurs which the learned only are competent to answer. Mabillon asks, what is to be thought respecting the Sibylline oracles *? are these the sentences of the Hebrew Sibyls, whose existence is unquestionable? or are they to be treated as wholly spurious, according to the opinion of Blondell† and Vossius ‡, who waste a vast deal of learning on the supposed foundation of some Catholic doctrine, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of the learned theologians of Paris §, of Persons and others who were quite as well versed as they could be in classical researches? That the most ancient of the Sibylline books have perished, the learned are generally agreed, but whether the tradition of their prophecies has perished with them is quite a different question. "Unless we despise all antiquity," says Maio, "we cannot laugh at the authority of the Sibylline poems ‖." The writings of the Fathers everywhere prove that the Christians used often to refer to themselves the celebrated verses of the Sibyls. St. Augustus had read them in Greek and Latin ¶. Procopius says, that they were appealed to in Rome in the sixth century; and in the seventh Isidore witnesses that they were everywhere spread **. In the tenth century Liutprandus Ticinensis affirms that they then existed with the Greeks and Sarassins, conformable to the testimony of St. Justin Martyr that they were dispersed throughout the whole world ††. Their greatest destruction occurred under Honorius, when Stilicus burnt them, as is lamented by Rutilius in his Itinerary ‡‡. But to resume our study of the pavement: here too were memorials of tragical events of olden time, such as a representation of the famous battle of Monte Aperto, in the year 1260, mentioned by Dante, in the tenth canto of the Inferno, as the slaughter and great havoc

That colour'd Arbia's flood with crimson stain;

* De Studiis Monast. P. II. 272. † De Sibyllis.
‡ De Sibyllinis Orac.
§ Who published Castigationes ad Opuscul. Vossii de Sibyll. Orac.
‖ Sibyllæ, Lib. XXIV. Præf. 6.
¶ De Civit. Dei, XVIII. 23. ** Etym. VIII. 8.
†† Cohort. ad Græc. CXXXVIII. ‡‡ Lib. II. 51.

and on the high altar stands the very crucifix which the Siennese carried into the field, on that disastrous day, which gave occasion for the world to understand what dark and barbarous thoughts the savage minds of Ghibellines could conceive, when by consent of all, Florence had to the ground been razed. Other memorials were wrought here, which time had rendered doubtful. How was I pressed with keen desire to read and explain the faint inscription, and discover what the four philosophers were predicating who are represented in the centre, standing by an emblematic wheel, on which were many men attempting to mount; but it was in vain I gazed upon it, and there was no one to instruct me. Here too were lessons of evangelic wisdom in symbolic figures: in one place is represented the parable of him who saw the mote within his neighbour's eye, and knew not the beam within his own; in another, is a man who gives alms to a woman with a child enfolded in her arms; on the left is another, with two blind men and a little boy, with a label, on which is written "notate," to teach men to beware of taking themselves for guides.

Here too was ritual-historic lore, for those who love that mystic knowledge, for on the western steps are the figures of two vessels, containing milk and honey, which in the primitive church used to be given to the newly baptized, to indicate the entrance into the true land of promise, which is the Church. In almost every ancient church the pavement itself furnished thus matter for a study. That of St. Paul's Basilica at Rome was full of remarkable inscriptions; that of the Cathedral of Durham has its tender traditions, which are transmitted from age to age by three monks of the holy Benedictine order; that of the Church of St. Anthony at Padua contains letters and mysterious signs, which defy the skill of antiquarians, such as the great L, which some supposed did indicate the spot where the tongue of the saint was found; that of the Cathedral of Canterbury shows the spot which receives in our days the devout kiss of the faithful stranger, though his faith has to sustain the astonished gaze of more than pagan irreverence; that of the monastic Church of St. Richarius, in the ninth century, was composed of the most beautiful marble in different compartments, and the following verses were read upon it before the altar of St. Richarius:

Hoc pavimentum humilis abbas componere feci
Angilbertus ego, ductus amore Dei.
Ut mihi post obitum sanctam donare quietem
Dignetur Christus, vita, salusque mea*.

There was nothing in Catholic churches to conceal this beauty and learning of the pavement, unless, indeed, as around the holy house of our blessed Lady, where the marble is worn into furrows by the knees of the pilgrims, for there were no closed immoveable seats occupying the nave, where all ranks were equal, and where the duke and the beggar might be seen side by side, praying to that all-good and almighty Being, who knows no exception of persons. The moderns wish to be isolated even in their churches; but catholicism, even though St. James had not been so explicit, would have abhorred the feeling from principle. Her piety was not torpor nor pampering of the flesh; and it required that the body should be free to exercise its external homage, and to assist the devotion of the heart, by bending the knee, kissing the ground, as at the chaunting of the Passion, and remaining in a posture of gravity and reverence during the tremendous mysteries; therefore there was nothing to disfigure or degrade her temples. Underneath the shrine of St. Cuthbert, in the church at Durham, there were, indeed, four seats or places, convenient for pilgrims or lame men, sitting on their knees, to lean and rest on in the time of their devout offerings and fervent prayers to God†; and Lebeuf observes that straw used to be spread in winter; but these were no obstruction or deformity. Not but that the ingenious tenderness of religion had made provision for the retiring piety of the penitent, and for the hours of despondency which all must experience. In the old churches there were always some dark recesses and corners, shaded by those granite pillars so emblematic of stability, which were well known and dear to those who, in moments of dereliction, sought retirement in their devotions, even in the church. John Le Blond, enumerating the various parts of the interior of a church, speaks of "Les lieux contemplatifs‡." After a long absence, the joy of returning to one's house

* Chronic. Centulensis sive Richarii, Liv. II. c. 7.
† The Ancient Rites and Monuments of Durham, p. 6.
‡ Gouget, Bibliotheq. Français, Tom. XI. 108.

was not equal to that sentiment, combining a crowd of holy thoughts and beautiful meditations, with which one entered the church of his youth, and knelt down behind the particular pillar or sepulchre where he had, in days of yore, offered up the prayers and holy rapture of his youthful heart, and sought privacy in the temple. Besides these, to which any one might have access, there were crypts, subterraneous caves, or little cells, inhabited by recluses, women, and sometimes even hermits of great sanctity, which had grated apertures or windows, looking into the church *. This was the case at the abbey of St. Geneviève, and at other churches of Paris, as those of St. Severen, St. Paul, St. Merri, the Holy Innocents, and at the abbey of St. Victor. When one of these pious women died, there was always another anxious to succeed her. The ancient necrology of St. Geneviève states, on the fourteenth of October "obiit piæ memoriæ Hildeardis reclusa hujus ecclesiæ †." The blessed Etheldrita, the daughter of Offa, King of the Mercians, was a recluse in the monastery of Crowland; and St. Finden was a hermit out of Ireland, who lived a recluse in a cell towards the north part of the church of the monastery Rhinaugiensis, in Suabia ‡. So also at Durham, at the east end of the north alley of the quire, betwixt two pillars, opposite one to the other, was the goodly fair porch which was called the Anchoridge, having in it a marvellous fair rood, with an altar, for a monk to say daily mass, being in ancient times inhabited by an anchorite.

Sometimes too, in the vast towers of churches, there were little cells which some holy man would inhabit, for the sake of solitude and contemplation, with the whole city under his feet. Thus we find, from St. Gregory of Tours, that Cautinus, Bishop of Arverna, while in the rank of deacon, attached to the church of the village Iciodorens, used to sleep every night in a little cell which was within the upper part of the wall of the church; for it is said that one night he heard many voices, as if of persons who chaunted psalms below, and rising from his bed, he opened the window which

* Durandi Rationalis, I. 1.

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. II.

‡ Mabillon, Acta S. Ordinis Benedict. Sæcul. IV. Pars I.

looked into the church, and there he beheld the vision of white-robed angels *. History relates the names of many of the holy men and women recluses, who resided in these cells of churches and monasteries. Such were Dungall from Ireland, at the abbey of St. Denis; St. Wiborade at St. Gall, in the eleventh century; and the mother of the abbot Guibert, and the venerable matron Hildeburg, and many others †. In the subterraneous church of St. Irenæus at Lyons, where the bones of the martyrs had been placed, I saw the grave-stone of Marguerite de Barge, who died in the year 1692, having spent the last nine years of her life, which extended to forty-five, in that church, having never left it day or night; and so she was buried there, hoping to rejoin the martyrs in heaven. In the old monastery of Jumièges, St. Filibert, the founder, had his room placed by the side of the church, with a window pierced, through which he could see the altar without leaving his room. This custom became so general, that it gave rise to one of the many features which rendered the small but solemn churches of the religious houses very impressive. These walls of the sanctuary, pierced with windows, through the grates of which the holy members of that devout family would assist at the divine offices, raised before the imagination, the images of saintly men or women, who passed their lives under that roof in peace and holiness. Like the pictures of saints, they refreshed the eyes of those that were weary with the vanities of a wretched world. That union of domestic privacy with the solemn order of public worship, was a delightful and soothing combination. At nones or complin you thought of those early beams of the succeeding day which would gild the opposite walls, that were now in darkness. How many a saint will then regard these images and paintings on which I now gaze! Every spot within this sanctuary is familiar to the eye of persons that are dear to God! How solemn I have felt it in the vast church of the Annunciata at Genoa, when, in the obscurity of evening, a solitary Franciscan is seen to move along through the upper passages which encircle the roof of the sanctuary, and to retire under a vista of arches into the interior of

* De Gloria Confessorum, 30.

† Mabillon, Præfat. in VI. Sæcul. Benedict. 12.

the monastery, to which that church is attached! Raising our eyes from the pavement, no one need be reminded, that the point in which was concentrated all the riches and splendour of the sanctuary, being in fact the object for which the whole was originally conceived and undertaken, was the altar, which was nothing, as Optatus says, but the seat of the body and blood of Christ *. The Christian writers of the primitive ages, describing the heathen persecutions under Diocletian, say, "We beheld our temples destroyed, our altars overthrown †." Fleury, indeed, shows how impossible it was for the pagans, with their notions, to recognise the existence of an altar with the Christians, or to trace any resemblance between the Christian Basilicas and their own temples ‡. But we see at Rome, at the present day, in the cabinets of the Vatican, with what beauty and magnificence the sacred tabernacle, which contains the adorable victim for the Christian altar, was constructed even during the times of persecution. At the end of the fourth century, the altars were always of stone. "This holy altar at which we stand," says St. Gregory Nyssen §, "is a common stone by nature, differing in no respect from any other slab of stone with which our walls and pavements are adorned; but since it is dedicated and consecrated to the worship of God, and hath received a benediction, it is a holy table, an immaculate altar, which no longer is to be touched by all, but by the priests alone, and those venerating."

To the law of Nature may be traced the consecration of altars, as when Jacob anointed the stone ||. Julian was offended at the magnificence of the chalices of the Christian altars, and used to say, "En ejusmodi vasis Filio Mariæ ministratur ¶." But the holy Fathers had remarked, without his assistance, that although "that table was not then of silver, nor that cup of gold, from which Christ gave his own blood to his disciples, yet all these things were precious and tremendous, since they

* Lib. VI. Cont. Parmenian.
† Euseb. Cæsar. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VIII. 1.
‡ Mœurs des Chrestiens, 235.
§ Orat. de S. Christi Baptismate, 801.
|| Gen. xxviii.
¶ Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 8.

were full of spirit *." It was truly meet and worthy that all the grace of art and all the splendour of wealth should be consecrated to the adornment of that spot which was to receive the desired of all nations, from which the house was to be filled with glory, and God to give his peace. Accordingly, the altars of churches were, in the ages of faith, a mine of incalculable riches. It is a fact well ascertained by mineralogists, that the most precious gems known to be in existence, are still belonging to the sanctuaries of churches. The high altar of the Carthusian monastery near Pavia, is enriched with an immense number of precious stones, lapis-lazuli, agates, cornelians, and others. The church of St. Mark at Venice received the spoils of Constantinople. The riches in the church of Loretto exceeded all calculation. Topazes, emeralds, sapphires, rubies, diamonds, agates, and lapis-lazuli, lost their value there, being accumulated in such abundance; for Catholic princes and private persons from all quarters send their richest jewels there, as tokens of devotion to the mother of God. Immense too were the treasures at the three principal shrines in England, of St. Alban, St. Edmund, and St. Thomas, as were also those at Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, and Winchester. St. Gregory of Tours relates, that Childebert, king of Paris, having invaded Spain, carried back with him twenty gospel cases, which, though richly ornamented with pure gold and precious stones, were more valuable still on account of their workmanship than on account of the materials.

The piety of the faithful of successive generations was constantly employed in enriching altars with costly presents. Nicholas Flamel, the scrivener of Paris, left by his testament nineteen chalices of silver, gilt, to as many churches. The duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. dying in 1407, besides leaving twenty thousand livres to the poor and to monasteries, bequeathed a silver chalice to every church in the cities of Paris and Orleans. Historians, observing that it would be impossible to calculate the prodigious quantity of gold and silver which existed in the middle ages, remark, that the opulence of the churches and the incredible abundance of alms and offerings, prove it to

* Hom. LX. ad Popul. Antioch.

have been immense. Thus we read of Durham, "that many were the goodly rich jewels and reliquaries appertaining to the church, some of which would have ransomed a prince. King Richard gave his parliament robe of blue velvet, wrought with great lions of pure gold, a marvellous rich cope. There was another by another prince, such love had the godly minds of kings and queens, and other great estates, to God and holy St. Cuthbert, in that church. In the year 1443, Robert Norwych, Squire, gave to the cathedral of Norwich his silver collar, which had been presented to him by the emperor; and in 1499, Lady Margaret Shelton offered a gold chain, adorned with jewels, to the same. St. Wilfred, bishop of York, in the ninth century, shortly before his death, invited certain abbots, for the purpose of showing to them the precious stones and gold and silver which were in the treasury of his church *. William of Malmesbury says that in his time they showed, in the church of Sherburn, several precious gems which Sighelm, the bishop of that see, had brought from India, having been sent there to carry the alms of King Alfred, and to visit the shrine of St. Thomas †. At Winchester was preserved the crown of Canute the Dane, which he had placed on the crucifix over the high altar, after the memorable rebuke which he made to his courtiers at the sea-shore near Southampton. In the cathedral of Genoa I saw the emerald hexagonal dish found at Cæsarea, when that town was captured by Guglielmo Embriaco, in 1101, and chosen by the Genoese in preference to all other spoils. It is supposed to have belonged to the temple of Solomon. It is known all over Christendom by the name of the Sacro Catino; and if the tradition concerning it be credited, it is only for another Sir Perceval to look upon it.

The religious care with which the sacred ornaments and relics of churches were preserved, will account for their prodigious antiquity. On the entrance of the Moors into Spain, which was signalized by the pillaging of cities and churches, those who could not withstand their impetuosity, but retired into the recesses of mountains, carried with them the relics and sacred ornaments,

* Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. IV. p. 1.

† De Gestis Pontif. Anglorum, Lib. II.

which were more esteemed by them than their own treasures, which they abandoned to the rapacity of the conquerors. In the revolutionary wars of France, the sacred treasury of the monastery of St. Maurice, in the Valais, was taken up to the high Alps, and concealed there by the shepherds. This had been enriched by Charlemagne and St. Louis; but the offerings of the people were often employed in the adornment of the sanctuary, and these were immense. When Pope Leo IX. consecrated the new church at Rheims, the offerings of the people, who flocked from all parts, are described as incalculable. During the mass, the crowd pressed round the tomb of St. Remi, to present their offerings. Those who despaired of reaching it, threw their offerings from afar *. The liberality of the Saxons to the church of New Corby was so great, that St. Adalhard, the abbot, was obliged to moderate it. When he found the church sufficiently adorned, he placed limits to the reception of offerings. "It is not for us to be enriched by that which renders others poor, nor to be glad at what causes them sorrow. Let us be content with a sufficiency †." At that time no offerings were received from any that were not at peace with the church. St. Liudger rejected a vessel of honey, which had been presented at Billurbek by a certain woman who had contracted an unlawful marriage ‡. At Durham, "there did lye on the high altar an excellent fine book, very richly covered with gold and silver, containing the names of all the benefactors to St. Cuthbert's church, from the first original foundation thereof, the very letters being all gilt. The laying that book on the high altar did show how high they esteemed their founders and benefactors, and the dayly remembrance they had of them in the time of mass and divine service." From the year 666, it was ordained by the Council of Merida, that all priests should mention the names of the founders and benefactors of their churches on Sundays. Anastasius, the librarian, in his Lives of the Roman Pontiffs, describes the magnificent presents which were offered in the church of St. Peter from the King of France, the Emperor of the

* Anquetil, Hist. de Reims, Lib. II. 231.
† Vita Ejus, Mabillon Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæcul. IV. p. 1.
‡ Vita S. Liudgeri, Episcop. Acta S. Ord. Ben. IV. 1.

East, and the King of Italy. Pope Victor II. gives a similar account at a later period. St. Jerome, through his affection for the poverty of the desert, which, as he said, loves the naked, condemns the use of gold in churches, though he praised those who adorned them *. But the Lord of armies had himself declared, that gold was his, and that silver was his †. It was not a love of profane pomp which made the bishops so earnest to procure means for raising and adorning the churches. Their motive was well expressed by a council in the year 1368: "Since the present visible church militant is justly compared to the celestial and triumphant city of Jerusalem, and since it is the place where the most sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ is made and preserved, and where the instruments of our reconciliation with the Lord, namely, the ecclesiastical sacraments are administered for the offences and sins of the people, it ought to be strengthened and completed with firm foundations, that it may be grateful to God, and venerable to those who enter and behold it ‡." So we read of Olbertus, abbot of Gembou, in the tenth century, after a beautiful description of his piety and charity to the poor, "nor is it to be passed over in silence how zealous he was in adorning the Church; for although it is said 'in sancto quid facit aurum?' yet he had not in external things whence he might show the desire of his soul towards God, excepting inasmuch as they tended to the worship of God; and these things, no doubt, avail somewhat, because they show forth more the advantage of the Church, and because men of brutish minds, who esteem all things more according to their own mind than to their truth, think that nothing is worthy of reverence unless what they see adorned with the things which they temporally love §."

Fleury shows the magnificence of the first Christian churches, how they were adorned with columns of solid silver, and with images of solid gold, and had their walls wholly incrusted with marble and mosaic, and

* Epist. XXXIV.

† Agg. c. II. 7.

‡ Concil. Lavaurensis, Can. 91.

§ Libellus de Gestis Abbatum Gemblacensium, 528, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. VI.

covered with pictures, representing the histories of the Old and New Testaments, while in each church the history of the martyr, whose relics were there preserved, occupied the chief place. But before we go into any detail on this subject, it will be necessary to pause awhile to notice one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the magnificence, and, indeed, with the very origin of many churches. I allude to the veneration entertained for the bodies or other relics of the saints, and to the circumstance of their being preserved in every place where the divine mysteries were celebrated. Cardan says that it is a general rule of great importance, not merely for physicians like himself, but for all persons, that whenever we approach to accost any one, or to discuss any subject, we should sit down, for many precipitate things by standing *. The Protestants thus lost themselves on the subject of Catholic relics, as on other matters, by noticing them standing. If they had sat down to inquire dispassionately and with deliberation, they would not have been impelled afterwards to sally forth like wild barbarians, destroying the beautiful and glorious monuments of ancient piety, with which faith had filled our churches, committing to the flames, as they did in England, the venerable bones of St. Alban, St. Edmund, and St. Thomas, or, as in France, those of St. Irenæus at Lyons, of St. Hilary at Poitiers, and of St. Martin at Tours. They would have found that in fact nothing is more ancient in the history of the Christian religion than the custom of collecting the limbs or blood or vestments of the holy martyrs, and of preserving them with religious reverence, enshrined as they found them in the Catholic churches †. This is part of the primitive discipline of the church, which dates from the apostolic age, as appears from the acts of St. Ignatius, and the encyclical letter of the church of Smyrna respecting the relics of St. Polycarp. The care of the pagans to prevent the Christians from gaining possession of the bodies of the martyrs is well known, as also the zeal with which the faithful cherished their relics. The work of Boldetti, on the ancient cemeteries of the martyrs, furnishes interesting details. In the history of

* Prudentia civilis, cap. XCII.
† Baron. Ann. 261.

Ammianus Marcellinus, the basilicas of the Christians are called sepulchres *, and the council at Rome, under Pope St. Sylvester, in enumerating the list of orders which had nine degrees, names, instead of chaunters, custodes martyrum †. In fact, till the third century at least, no church was ever built excepting over the tombs of saints. Seven women were put to death for having collected the drops of the blood of St. Blaise, during his torments; and the blood of St. Cyprien was received on cloths spread by the Christians for that purpose. In a work of Julian, which has come down to us, the homage rendered to the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul is attested. Rufinus describes the solemn translation of a martyr's body with hymns and psalms, while Julian beheld the spectacle with indignation ‡. The holy bishops of the two first ages used to carry the relics of the martyrs inclosed in cases of gold. St. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the reverence with which Christians regarded the relics of saints' bodies §. St. Augustin describes the multitudes who came to venerate the relics of St. Stephen, the first martyr, which were discovered by Lucianus in the reign of the emperor Honorius, and the miracles which were wrought by their means ||. The bodies of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas were in the great church of Carthage in the fifth age, as St. Victor informs us. St. Augustin says that their festival drew yearly more to honour their memory in their church than curiosity had drawn to their martyrdom. St. Ambrose gives a description of his finding the relics of Saints Gervaise and Protasius in the Ambrosian basilica, and of the devotion of the people, and of the miracles which attested the holiness of that pious solemnity ¶. "Are the lighted wax tapers burning before the tombs of the martyrs signs of idolatry?" asks St. Jerome **. "Is it idolatry," he asks again, "to kiss the vase which contains their ashes ††?" Suppose some one does light a taper in honour of the martyr? He has a reward according to his faith, for the Apostle says, "Unusquisque in

* Lib. XXII. cap. 11.
† Chardon, Hist. des Sacrements, Tom. V. 1.
‡ Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. c. 35.
§ Catechet. VIII.
|| De Civitate Dei, XXII. c. 8.
¶ Epist. LXXXV.
** Epist. XXXVII.
†† Epist. XXXVIII.

suo sensu abundet." St. Basil even says, "Whoever touches the bones of a martyr, on account of the eminent grace of the body, will become a partaker of the sanctification;" and St. Chrysostom says, speaking of St. Ignatius, "not the bodies alone, but the very tombs of the saints are filled with spiritual grace." "Does Vigilantius grieve," asks St. Jerome, "because we wrap the sacred relics of martyrs in precious cloth, and because we do not cast them on a dunghill? Are we sacrilegious when we enter the basilicas of the apostles? Was Constantine sacrilegious when he translated the holy relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy to Constantinople? Is the present emperor Arcadius to be called sacrilegious for translating the bones of the blessed Samuel from Judæa into Thrace? Are all the bishops sacrilegious and fools for carrying ashes in silk and vessels of gold? Are all the faithful people fools for running to the holy relics and receiving them with such joy, as if they beheld the living prophet *?" That the bodies of saints are precious, may be inferred also from visions, such as that of the holy Pontiff St. Paschalis I., related by himself, relative to the body of St. Cecilia. There are many instances, in a very early age, of the elevation and translation of the bodies of saints, both in the East and in the West. Not to speak of the relics of the first martyrs in the Apostolic age, and of those translated by Constantine and Arcadius, as St. Jerome testifies, we find it recorded that Pulcheria translated the relics of the forty martyrs, and that after the consulship of Basil, the body of St. Anthony the hermit was carried, with great honour, to Alexandria, and placed in the basilica of St. John the Baptist. St. Ambrose moved the relics of St. Gervase and St. Protasius to another place. Pepetuus Turonicus translated those of St. Martin; Gregorius Lingonicus, those of St. Benign; Palladias Sautonicus, those of St. Eutropius; Germain, Bishop of Paris, those of St. Ursinus; but after the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great, these translations became less frequent, insomuch, that the bodies of St. Germain, St. Remy, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Alban the Martyr, were not translated from the place of their first burial till the eighth century. In fact, the danger of

* Epist. XXXVIII.

abuses, alluded to by St. Augustin, had induced the clergy to abrogate the ancient custom. In the seventh century, however, it began again to prevail, but, as Mabillon shows, it was deemed religion not to dismember their bodies. The exhumation of any bodies for convenience, which is now practised, or their mutilation through sacrilegious levity, which has been lately witnessed within the ancient cathedral of Durham, on occasion of the supposed discovery of St. Cuthbert's grave, could at no epoch have occurred during ages of faith; but the dismemberment and translation of bodies were frequently practised, though from a motive of the utmost reverence, and with ceremonies of the most solemn description, of which it will be well to give an instance, for the devotion of Catholics in times past will furnish a more worthy spectacle than the curiosity of the moderns, whom I gladly leave, while employed, as in the church of Durham, in picking up the holy vestments and vessels, fingering and analyzing the decayed members, and speculating on the supposed errors of monks in days of yore. We read then, in an ancient chronicle, how it was commanded that the body of the venerable Gerard, bishop and confessor in the time of Otho the Great, should be removed to a place of greater honour in the church, and how the devout Pope Leo, having a desire to be present when his remains should be raised from the tomb, departed from Rome expressly for the purpose, and after traversing a great part of Belgic Gaul, arrived in the midst of the clergy and people assembled, to their great joy. The fame of this approaching event had drawn an immense multitude, of all ages and of both sexes, to the town, and a devout number of holy pontiffs had already met there from distant countries. With the venerable Archbishop of Lyons, there was Hugo, Archbishop of Chrysopolis, George, Archbishop from Hungary, Frotmundus, Bishop of Trecassinus, Herbert, Bishop of Autun, and Lupus, an English bishop. These holy men accordingly appointed a certain day for the translation; but the influx of people had so increased, that our Lord the Pope, fearing lest the venerable relics might be exposed to injury amidst such a crowd, decreed that the translation should take place during the night, with no other witnesses but clerks and monks; therefore on the Sunday,

the twelfth calend of November, when the shades of evening had come on, holy vigils are instituted and continued through that long night by the clerks and monks, and then lauds of jubilation are sung; then our Lord the Pope, with the assembly of pontiffs, preceded by burning tapers and the fragrance of incense, proceeded to the spot, removed the stone which covered the sepulchre of the saint, and beheld within it the venerable body, more precious than any treasure. There you would have seen his reverent countenance defiled with no stain, as if sleeping with closed eyes, his white hairs flowing down at great length on both sides of his neck, his body clothed in his pontifical vestments, which were not in the least decayed or injured by moisture. Before their eyes he lay with such composed beauty that they beheld, as it were, a certain image of the resurrection, for he did not seem dead but sleeping, and about to open his eyes at the voice of the summoning angel. Then these blessed members were raised up most reverently and involved in linen, and throughout the whole of the next day were presented to the veneration of the people, and on the following day there was a plenary solemnity, and the body was placed at the right hand of the altar of the blessed protomartyr Stephen, where an altar was consecrated with apostolical benediction *. This is but an instance of the respect with which the moving of a holy body was universally conducted. Thus in the year 974, at Troyes, on the translation of the relics of St. Mastie, by Bishop Milon, the people from all parts assembled in crowds, and remained in the church of St. Peter from the first vespers till the mass of the next day, passing the night in fasting and prayer †. The bodies and relics of saints originally were deposited in a kind of crypt, which was under the altar, into which were small apertures, through which they might be regarded or touched by cloth or palls let down upon them. Such is the description given of the altar in the basilica of St. Peter by St. Gregory of Tours ‡. Henricus Valescus says that the Christians at the tombs of the martyrs

* Acta Tullens. cum Episcoporum apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

† Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 21.

‡ In Lib. I. de Mirac. Martyr. cap. 28.

were accustomed to let down veils, which might touch the relics of the saints, qua pro magna benedictione accipiebant *. St. Ambrose placed the relics under the altar †, and Mabillon gives other examples: but the relics of St. Walpurg are stated by St. Odo to have been placed upon the altar. In the ninth century it became general to place them upon the altar. In the eighth century, when the body of St. Emmeramnus was translated, the books of the Gospels were placed in the coffin with the body; and in the chronicle of Fontenelle there is mention of a copy of the Holy Scriptures placed with the body, which was dressed in the habit it had worn. Until the ninth century, the bodies of saints, for the most part, were deposited in subterraneous places, with altars or merely shrines built over them. The chests which contained the pignora sanctorum, contained probably nothing but linen and other substances which had touched the relics, and this explains the multitude of relics associated with the name of the same saint, which were preserved in different places. The faithful also made copies or images of relics, which, after being touched to the real, were afterwards venerated as partaking of their grace, and this was the case with the thorns of the crown, the wood of the cross, and the heads and vestments of saints ‡. When relics were removed, it was rather by pious violence than by the result of prayers. For the clergy continued adverse to any removal or dismemberment as before, and such acts of violence gave occasion to the most solemn professions of penitence §. In the seventh century, when Antioch was taken by the Sarassins, and the cities of Alexandria and Jerusalem were possessed by the Persians or Arabians, a vast number of holy relics of the bodies of saints were brought into the West, for multitudes of the Christians of those countries removed with all their treasures to escape the fury of the Mahometans. Some churches were built expressly to receive precious relics: that of St. Peter, in Vincoli, was erected in the year 442, by Eudoxia, wife of the Emperor Valentinian III., to pre-

* In Sozomen. Lib. IX. cap. 2.
† Epist. LXXXV. ad Marcellinam.
‡ Sardagna, Theolog. Dogmat. Tom. III. 467.
§ Mabillon, Præfat. in II. Saint Ben. § 5.

serve the chain with which Herod bound St. Peter, in the prison of Jerusalem. Every one knows what a feature in the churches of the middle ages were the crystal-girded shrines and reliquaries of the saints, meekly reverenced at a holy distance, before which were suspended vast lamps of silver: those of St. Denis, of solid silver, were so old that they looked like lead. "Our happy and holy mother, the church," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "for the great comfort and decorum of the house of God, has many bodies of saints in custody, at the sight of which many persons are excited often to the love of God, and to weeping, and to the desire of eternal joys. For where is there a church or chapel so poor and little as not to have some sacred relics for the ornament of his oratory, through devotion, to the souls of the saints reigning with Christ in glory *." Many of these bodies were in a state of extraordinary preservation. Such were those of the holy Anselm, Cuthbert, Claude, Edmund, Remi, Catharine of Bologna, Clare of Montefaucon, Agnes of Politian, Rosa of Viterbo, Charles Borromeo, Ferdinand, Isidore, Theresa, Elizabeth of Portugal, Edward of England, Francis Xavier, and Magdalen de Pazzi. Plato might have supposed that "their shape regarmented with glorious weeds of saintly flesh, would, being thus entire, show yet more glorious." It was with awe and trembling that I beheld, in the church at Saxeln, the body of the blessed hermit Nicholas of the Rock, erect, appearing suddenly like an apparition over the altar, and by his side the habit which he wore, to be devoutly kissed; but it was hard to refrain from tears, when admitted into the small chapel within the convent at Bologna, I saw that body of St. Catharine, there wonderfully seated during four hundred years, uncorrupted, unsupported, unmutilated, on a throne surrounded with burning tapers, so humbly amidst so much grandeur, one of the tender affecting spectacles which the church shows in secret to her children.

Sometimes the bodies of saints were placed within crystal shrines, so as to be constantly visible. This is the case in the great Benedictine abbeys of St. Urban and Einsiedelin, in the latter of which we see the skeleton

* Thom. de Kempis, Sermon Pars III. 10.

of St. Gregory, the son of one of our Saxon kings, who made there a blessed end. In the churches of the martyrs at Rome, as at the confession of St. Peter, the basilica of St. Paul, of St. Sebastian, of St. Cecilia, and others, we find at the rails of the altar which contains their relics a tablet, on which is written the responses, antiphons, and prayer of the church relative to that martyr. In the ancient monastery of Larrivour, in the diocese of Troyes, there were relics of saints' bodies, of whom no record remained, excepting that they were of persons who had died in odour of sanctity: yet the custom had never been laid aside of tolling the bells on the first of May, to commemorate the day of their being deposited in that church *. This was according to a general custom. When a certain holy relic was sent as a present to the church of Argentueil by Charlemagne, it arrived there at one o'clock, and to commemorate that arrival a bell was tolled ever after at that hour †. "The relics of the saints are to be venerated," say the canons of Theodore of Canterbury. "If it can be, let there be a taper lighted during the whole of every night, but if the poverty of the place do not permit it, it is no injury to them: but there must be lights on the nativities of the saints, because like lilies they gave an odour of sweetness and refreshed the church of God, as when the church is sprinkled with incense near th altar ‡." In the chapel of the great Hospital de Pammatone at Genoa, founded in 1420, we see the body of St. Catharine of Genoa, well preserved, in a shrine of silver, on the spot where she died in 1510. At Milan, early in the morning of St. Charles's Day, before light, vast multitudes, composed, not of the citizens only, but of the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who hasten into Milan from a great distance, descend into the confession of St. Charles, which is illuminated, and there the descendants of the well-tended flock pay their honour to his venerable relics, while several great pictures, representing the principal events in his life, are suspended along each side of the nave. Cities as well as churches derived an importance from these treasures. To whom was not Tholouse in-

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 355.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. IV. 10.
‡ Theodori Cantuar. Archiep. Capit. 29.

teresting on account of its containing in the subterraneous chapel of St. Saturninus that venerable body of the Angel of the School? What a treasure does Milan possess in the body of St. Ambrose, which reposes in a vault under the high altar in the Ambrosian basilica? How precious was that incorruptible tongue of St. John Nepocumenus to Prague, and that blood of St. Januarius to Naples? With what a rich treasure did Luitprand, the Lombard king, endow his capital when, in the year 723, during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, he ransomed the bones of St. Augustin from the Sarassins, and transferred them to it, going himself as far as Genoa to meet them *? I was at Pavia when these precious remains were moved, and placed in the gothic shrine adorned with three hundred statues, which had been made for them in the fourteenth century, and which was now transferred from the church of St. Augustin, which had been desecrated by the French, to the cathedral. It was a festival of public rejoicing for three days, and the whole city was illuminated. When the Archduke Boleslaus of Poland received tidings of the martyrdom of his holy friend St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia, he ransomed the body from that heathen people by the gift of its weight in silver, and had it transported with the greatest honours to the metropolitan church of Gnesen, where it was enshrined and visited by devout pilgrims from Bohemia, Germany, and Italy, among whom the emperor Otho III., with an immense attendance of knights, repaired to beseech God at the grave of the martyr, the friend and instructor of his youth †.

An instructed reader finds nothing but an adherence to the spirit and practice of the primitive times in these acts of the middle ages, which are such an offence to ignorant scorners, as when queen Radegund sent servants to Jerusalem and through all the East to procure the relics of holy bodies ‡, or as when St. Germain Bishop of Auxerre, passing into England with St. Loup of Troyes, in the year 429, to extirpate the Pelagian heresy, being deputed to that end by a council of Gaul,

* Sigon. de Regno Ital. Lib. III.
† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, I. 4.
‡ Greg. Turon. Miracul. Lib. I. 5.

made a visit to the shrine of St. Alban, and took up some of the earth on which the martyr's blood had fallen, and carried it back with him to France as a holy treasure * : or, as when in 780, at a great assembly of bishops and princes at Aix-la-Chapelle, a number of precious relics were publicly shown, which had been sent to that church as a rich present by the emperor of the East, or, as when at Senlis the chasuble of St. Frambault, who died in the sixth century, used to be kissed by the people instead of the paten at the offertory, in the high mass on his festival †, or as when the kings of France, with their own hands, used to show the relics of the holy chapel to the people on certain days. Charles V. showed them on Good Friday, and in 1423, this custom was observed by the Duke of Bedford, acting in the name of the king of England, and by order of the Parliament ‡. In all these instances it was a practice conformable to the spirit of the first ages, which impressed the minds of men with a salutary reverence. Petrarch was at Padua on the day of the translation of the body of St. Anthony, and he says that he was one of an immense multitude, who were admirers of that solemn and admirable ceremony. Every one has heard of the immense multitudes that used to visit Canterbury and the shrine of its holy martyr. Petrus Cellensis, who was his contemporary, says in a letter to the Bishop of Exeter, "Who will give me wings like a dove, that I may fly to visit the tomb of the precious martyr St. Thomas §." "Not undeservedly do the people hasten thither from all sides, to venerate that tomb and to bless that nation and people, amongst whom has arisen such a witness of Christ ‖:" and, again, writing to John of Salisbury, he expresses the same desire, adding, "that I may adore God in his saint before I die ¶." These feelings, though true to nature and to faith, are an astonishment to those who have been perverted by the modern philosophy, whose blindness would not have ascribed hypocrisy but superstition to the Pharisees, who

* Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 52.
† Hist. des Evesques de Senlis, 252.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. XI.
§ Liv. V. Epist. XVI. ‖ Liv. VI. Epist. IV.
¶ Liv. VI. Epist. XII.

built the sepulchres of the prophets *. They talk of visiting the tombs of poets, warriors, and kings, but it never occurs to them to add of saints, as if human sympathy and all associations of reverence were to be excluded alone when the memorials related to persons who have been dear to God. When they have not indulged a satiric vein in speaking of the Catholic practice, they have expressed themselves like Jews in their abhorrence of dead bodies †. Yet assuredly, even independent of the Christian tradition, there can be nothing more venerable, or in the best sense of the term more natural, than such a devotion? When Moses departed from Egypt ‡, he took with him the bones of Joseph, which the Patriarch himself had commended to his brethren §, and it is said, Ossa ipsius visitata sunt et post mortem prophetaverunt ||. There is again the same sanction in the fact relative to the bones of Elisha ¶, and in the apostolic history, which records the use made of the handkerchiefs and aprons. But without reference to these supernatural motives, what practice can be more conformable to the deepest sentiments of the human heart? Every where has mankind, without assigning its reasons, regarded as sacred the remains of virtuous men. We read in Homer that the faithful Eumæus wept when he saw the bow of his ancient master.

Κλαῖε δὲ βουκόλος ἄλλοθ', ἐπεὶ ἴδε τόξον ἄνακτος **.

And can it be thought that there was no spiritual advantage to be derived from exhibiting the crosier of a sainted pastor, or the staff which had supported a martyr to his death? St. Gregory of Tours says, "there lives in the suburbs of the city of Lyons a woman, who is said to have picked up the shoe of the blessed martyr Epipodius, which fell from his foot as they were leading him to martyrdom ††." Where is the discernment of the philosopher who would set no value on such a relic? I would not contend with him if he dissents. The voice of nature will consent whether the voice of man do so or not. Would you learn the impressions experienced

* Matt. c. xxiii. 29. † S. Hieron. Epist. XXXVII.
‡ Exod. 13. § Genes. 49. || Eccles. 49.
¶ IV. Reg. 13. Eccles. 48. ** Od. XXI. 83.
†† De Gloria Confessorum, 4.

by a French scholar, on witnessing the late translation of the body of St. Vincent de Paul to the chapel of the Lazarists in Paris? "O how noble, how pure to the eye of faith and of Catholic charity is that body, sanctified by the passage of a holy soul, which has been in the service of that soul during eighty years of earthly life, fatigued, tormented by it for the sake of the poor, for the salvation of prisoners, of the sick, of orphans, of all the unhappy! Those arms, which used to pick up the little infants from the snow to bear them to the hospital, those limbs which continued infirm ever after they had borne the weight of the chains, voluntarily assumed to redeem others, that countenance, which has consoled so many miserable, revived so many hopes, filled so many hearts with charity, that tongue, which had a sound so sweet, and so powerful to announce the word of God, that whole body, so often offered to the Almighty in penitence and mortification, that body now passes before our eyes, borne through the streets of Paris. Behold it, still clad in its ancient vestments, the cassoc, the surplice, and the stole! Cold, immoveable, to rise no more till, at the sound of the trumpet of the angel, which will summon it to glory! See around it what a multitude of men, great and small, princes and people. Sophists who pass by, do you comprehend this movement of the people towards the man, whose hand conferred so many benefits upon their fathers, and whose prayers can still cause the divine goodness to descend upon them? Do you discern this mysterious chain which unites earth and heaven? And in this body, which they bear along thus magnificently enshrined, is there nothing that moves you? Is there nothing in this astonishing and sublime symbol of charity."

St. Augustin replying to the pagans, explains the homage paid to the saints and to their relics, as a Catholic writer might now address the Protestants. "We do not erect temples to the martyrs, but we honour their sepulchres as having rendered testimony to the truth. Who ever heard a priest officiating at the altar of God over the ashes of a martyr pronounce these words: Peter, Paul, or Cyprien, I offer to you this sacrifice *? The Holy Ghost reposes invisibly in the relics of those who

* De Civitate Dei.

are dead in the grace of God, until he appear visibly in them at the resurrection; and it is this which renders the relics of saints so worthy of veneration. For God never abandons his own, not even in the sepulchre, where their bodies, although dead to the eyes of men, are more alive before God, on account of sin being no longer in them, the roots of which at least must have been there during their lives." These are the words of Paschal *. "Would you know the precise date of the worship of the relics of martyrs?" asks Fénélon. "It is as ancient as martyrdom itself. These bones are already out of the tomb, because they have strengthened Jacob and redeemed themselves by virtue of faith. When Agleus sent his servant Boniface from Rome to visit Asia in search of the bodies of martyrs, he said, 'Know, O Boniface, that the bodies of the faithful who go to collect those of martyrs, ought to be pure and without a spot.' It is superstition to honour the martyrs without desiring to imitate them. These bones have no virtue for such men. This is a place into which faith alone should enter †."

But let us turn now to mark the decoration of the churches, and the memorials of antiquity which they presented. One who has only seen the desecrated cathedrals of England, or even the churches of France since the revolution, can hardly form an idea of the number of interesting objects for observation, furnished by the interior walls of an ancient Christian church, in consequence of the Catholic principle of divine appropriation by the original bond of all things to God, or by their special application to his glory. Of these to speak at full were a vain attempt; but a few instances, promiscuously taken, may serve to lead persons upon this inquiry. Thus, omitting for the present to mention the imagery and inscriptions upon sepulchres, of which I shall speak in a future place, there were so many memorials of every description, preserved from different ages, that to the examination of a church it was as necessary to bring learning and attention, as to the study of some book of ancient or of mystic lore. On the windows of the gothic church of the convent of the

* Pensées, II. Partie, art. 17.
† Fénélon pour la Fête d'un Martyr.

Celestines at Marcoucies was painted the word Ilpadelt, which no one could explain until a Turk, who had received baptism, and was in the suite of Francis I., came to Marcoucies in the year 1523, and decided that it was Syriac, and that it meant, "God is my hope," which explanation was then registered in the library of the abbey. These words had been the device of John de Montaigu, the great founder who had built the abbey and enriched it with many precious relics, pursuant to a vow which he made during the sickness of Charles VI. The capitals of the columns in the basilica of St. Vitale at Ravenna, contains monograms, of which the learned cannot give an interpretation. Every thing that could interest the scholar, the poet, the philosopher, and the Christian was to be found in the ancient churches. On the west front of the cathedral of Como, raised in the fourteenth century, are two statues of the elder and younger Pliny, who were natives of that place, and an affecting inscription invites the passenger to fix his eyes upon them, adding

Lætus eris sed mox
Non sine lachrymulis.

In the artists who placed these figures at the sacred portal, we can recognise the same mind as guided Dante, when he represented the four mighty spirits separate from all the rest, for one might infer that they stand there as if to signify that the renown of their great names, that echoes through our world, acquires favour in heaven, which holds them thus advanced *. In the sixteenth century, a visitor of the diocese required their removal as profane, but the calmer and deeper wisdom of the sacred college, to which the citizens of Como appealed, sanctioned their preservation. The cathedral of Parma bears monumental tablets to the memory of ancient Roman families, which are celebrated in the classic annals.

Some arts and languages have perished since these churches were constructed. If it were not an interminable office to enter upon such details, a pilgrim who had visited Italy might attract around him many a circle of intelligent listeners, by merely telling them of the me-

* Hell IV.

morials of antiquity which he has found in churches: he might describe that ancient Pascal cycle fixed in the wall of the cathedral of Ravenna, or that pastoral chair of ivory which reminds him of classic story, or that stationary cross of St. Agnello, which has stood for thirteen hundred years in the same; he might describe the bas-relievos on churches which have survived heresies, and which represent the forgotten error, as those on St. Michael's church at Pavia, where an annunciation is represented conformable to the Arian opinions, or the ancient images of the cross of our divine Lord, like that awful figure in the church of St. Dominic at Ravenna, which is in a form unlike what we now ascribe to it. He might relate of the calamities to which mortal men are subject, in connection with which he saw, in the cathedral of Milan, the crucifix which was borne processionally by St. Charles, during the plague in 1576; and in the church of St. Vitale at Ravenna, where, in the year 1636, the waters had risen fourteen feet above the pavement, an inscription which invited the traveller to pray that their rivers might softly glide:

Molliter ut jaceant flumina nostra roga.

How in the church of St. Praxides at Rome, where two thousand three hundred martyrs were buried, he saw in the nave a well railed round, in which that saint used to deposit the blood of the martyrs which she could collect, and in the nave of the church of the Passionists, on the Celian hill, the spot railed round on which St. John and St. Paul were martyred, and in the basilica of St. Vitale at Ravenna, on the pavement a slab representing a man beheaded, over which were these words: "Hic Ursicinus capite obtruncato martyrii palmam adeptus est." Why think you, he might ask, is the bronze statue of that aged pontiff of the Farnese race without the triple crown, which all his fellows bear, in that basilica of St. Peter? Why does he stoop his head with such marks of grief and humiliation? It is because England was lost under his pontificate; and when this Paul III. was on his death-bed laid, he told them to represent him thus upon his tomb, but that when England revived again they might restore his emblematic crown. He might tell you of a silent but impressive

lesson furnished by that tomb of Christine, queen of Sweden, in the same church, which bears for its sole embellishment a crown laid upon a tablet! That crown, you are told, was renounced for the sake of embracing the true faith of Christ. What a strange reversion is here of the spiritual order to behold the mighty exalted and the poor left prostrate, to see princes resigning their crowns rather than resist the Catholic church, and men of humble state, for the sake of vile profit, or some worthless distinction, for which beggars might contend, remaining obstinately deaf to her gracious call! He might relate how he read, with trembling, those short words, inscribed over the high altar in the church of the convent of St. Mary Magdalen di Pazzi at Florence: "Una de numero prudentium." Alas! of what number are the giddy race who flock hither to gaze at paintings and the antiquated works of Tuscan art! Of what number was the wanderer himself who took such note of altars? He might describe that marble tablet in the cathedral of Milan, called Chrysmon St. Ambrosii, of which Landulph, its old historian, says, that it served as a table for the initiation of catechumens in the mysteries of our faith, and over which these verses are inscribed:

> Circulus hic summi continet nomina regis
> Quem sine principio et sine fine vides
> Principium cum fine tibi designant A et Ω.

He might describe that mosaic in the choir of the Ambrosian basilica at Milan, representing St. Ambrose, who seems to fall asleep in celebrating mass, under which the word Mediolanum is written, while by the side is shown the funeral of St. Martin, celebrated at Tours with the word Turonica, indicating that his death was revealed to St. Ambrose, or, in the same basilica, that granite column supporting a serpent of brass, which has employed the pens of so many learned antiquarians, who have left it as they found it, an uncertain memorial of the highest antiquity, or, in the church of St. Stephen at Milan, which stands upon the field of battle, where the Arians fought against the Catholics, that aperture in the nave, covered with a grating of iron, in which is worked the crosier of St. Ambrose, on which fell, as some suppose, the blood of Diodorus and three other

martyrs under Valentinian, or that stone, which is inserted there in a column, supposed to relate to the suffering of some martyr. He might repeat what he has read on the walls of the basilica of St. Sebastian at Rome, and give you the words of St. Jerome, describing his emotions on descending to the catacombs beneath; or he might, from the inscriptions on other churches, give you an account of the most memorable events connected with them, as from that in the basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe, which states how the emperor of Germany, Otho III., on account of his crimes, and in obedience to the austere discipline of St. Romuald, after walking barefoot from Rome to Mount Gargano, remained in this basilica and cloister during forty days a penitent, lamenting his sins in sackcloth, and giving an august example of humility. He might relate how at Poissy in the ancient church, he saw the font in which St. Lewis was baptized, and then, going on to speak of votive gifts, how in the ancient church of the Carthusians near Bologna, he saw the great iron chains that had been worn by poor Christian captives in the dungeons of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, who suspended them in this church on their return, and how at Pisa, in the church of St. Stephen, belonging to the knights of St. Stephen, he saw the banners surmounted by the crescent, and the immense brazen lanterns taken from the Turkish galleys by these knights of old, whose service consisted in protecting the Christian vessels on the Mediterranean from their corsairs.

An acquaintance with history may have prepared some of his hearers for such details. They may have read how Prince Boëmond having been caught by the Sarassins, and thrown into a dungeon loaded with chains, made a vow to God, that if by help of his grace, and the intercession of St. Leonard, he should recover his liberty, he would go to the church of that saint at Limoges, and would attach to its altar a chain of silver of the same weight as that with which he was then bound in prison; which vow he accomplished with a fervour worthy of the most zealous Christian, and then shortly after the assembly at Poitiers, took the cross and set out for Jerusalem. Celebrated also was the gift of the Prince of Condé, who having been long confined as a state pri-

soner in Vincennes, made an offering to the church of our Lady at Loretto, of a model of that castle in solid silver. The ex voto figures frequently represented the illustrious pilgrims who had visited the church: Popes, emperors, and steel-clad warriors, are there along with peasants. The lapse of ages had sometimes involved their history in obscurity. In the church of our Lady at Fournes, in Flanders, were suspended in one chapel several huge heavy rings of iron. Certain paintings also there, of vast antiquity, represented persons from whose hands and feet these rings and fetters were dropping off. Time had obliterated all trace of the names and events, but the substance of the story was sufficiently clear *. These votive offerings, eyed by the moderns in disdainful mood, towards which they sharpen their sight as keen as an old tailor at his needle's eye, may nevertheless be traced as a Christian usage from the primitive ages of the Church. Theodoret † says, that those who ask with faith obtain their requests, "as appears from the donaries which testify their cures; for some hang up the resemblance of eyes, some of feet, others of hands made of gold or brass, to indicate the infirmities from which they were delivered, and to be a memorial of the power of the true God." The walls of the vast temple of our Lady of the oak near Viterbo, have not space enough to contain the votive offerings of successive generations of men, to express the eternal gratitude of those who had received signal gifts from heaven. A memorial connected with the simplicity of the middle ages, consists in those horse shoes which used to be nailed on the gate of churches, out of devotion to St. Martin, whom painters always represent on horseback, and all persons who travelled in that manner, invoked as their patron, under whose guidance they could hardly fail to practise blessed charity on their way. On their return, these horse shoes were nailed up as a sign of acknowledgement ‡. With respect to the decoration of churches, we have already seen how magnificently they were adorned in the third century. Pope Gregory II. writing to the Emperor Leo,

* Hist. des Saints de la Province de Lille et Douay, p. 572.

† Orat. VIII. Contra Gentiles.

‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. c. 4, and Tom. IV. 126.

the Iconoclast, explains the advantage derived from the paintings and images in the churches. In the very first age, there is mention of golden candlesticks given to churches, and of perfumed tapers. The Roman Church had lands in Syria and other provinces of the east, for the supply of perfumes; and at the close of the third century, Optatus Milevitanus, is a witness that there were many ornaments in the church of gold and silver. From the beginning of the fourth century to the end of the ninth, the richest presents were continually made to the churches of Rome by popes, emperors, and private persons. Images of our Saviour and of the Apostles of solid gold and silver, with crowns of jewels, were given to the Lateran Basilica by Constantine. Fleury gives the prodigious value of the different objects presented, such as golden chalices, lamps, censers, and images of saints, besides houses, and lands, and money. In the tenth century, the ravages of the Normans and other wars, and the opinion that the end of the world was near, occasioned the destruction and neglect of most of the churches of the west. When they were rebuilt, the ancient form was preserved, but as we have seen it was found impossible to imitate their magnificence, or to adorn them with equal splendour, for the riches of the church which remained were passing in another direction. It was much if they could be built with cut stone, and adorned with bronze; and it was even necessary to prohibit the use of clay or wooden chalices. Still there were many vestiges of ancient splendour. In the year 1034, the Bohemians pillaged the church of Genesne, in Poland, and carried off a crucifix of gold of nine hundred pounds, and three golden tables of an altar enriched with precious stones. The interior decoration of the churches in the middle ages was of an astonishing magnificence. We have a minute description of the church of the monastery of St. Richarius, in the time of Charlemagne: over every altar there was a picture which was set in precious stones; in the middle of the church the sacred passion was represented figured in gypsum and inlaid with gold and other precious colours. On the south side was the Ascension, on the north the Resurrection, and in the porch the Holy Nativity, all similarly represented. Three of the altars were furnished

with pure gold *. Suger placed in the church of St. Denis a golden crucifix weighing eighty marks, and besides the value of the gold and enamel, there were in it pearls and precious stones: two years were required to finish it, though seven of the most skilful artists, who had come expressly from foreign countries, were occupied on it day and night. It was so brilliant that the eyes could not rest upon it without being dazzled. This was solemnly consecrated by Pope Eugene, who came to the abbey with the king for the purpose †. We read also that in the monastery of Luxueil, there was a cross wondrously fabricated of gold, and covered with precious gems, which had been given by St. Ansegisis, Abbot of Fontanelle. The roof of the abbey of Crowland was golden, as appears from the epitaph on the Abbot John, in the reign of Edward IV.

> Mente Maria vacans, sed membris Martha ministrans,
> Quæque Dei laudem sapiunt, super omnia fovit,
> Sed reputat fraudem, quicquid proprium sibi novit,
> Quam sibi dilecta fuerant Domini sacra templa
> Laudis in exempla demonstrant aurea tecta ‡.

No labour or expense were spared in adorning the interior of churches. Bede relates of his abbot Biscop, that he brought from Rome and placed in his church pictures of sacred images of the blessed Mary, and the twelve apostles, and images of the evangelical history, and of the visions of St. John the Evangelist: all who entered the church, though ignorant of letters, might, to whatever side they turned, have contemplated either the gracious and loving countenance of Christ, and of his apostles, having them as if before their eyes, or they might be led to meditate with amaze upon the mystery of our Lord's incarnation; or else the danger of the final judgment which was presented before them might have moved them to examine themselves more strictly §. Most of the artists employed upon the ca-

* Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Vita S. Angelberti, IV. 1.
† Hist. de Suger, Lib. VI.
‡ Ingulph. Hist.
§ Bed. in Lib. I. de Vita Biscop.

thedral of Pisa in the eleventh century were Greeks *. The paintings on its walls and roof, executed in the fourteenth century, are sublime in the highest degree. The figure of our Saviour on a colossal scale in the apsis with the inscription, "Ego sum lux mundi," strikes one with dread on entering. The admirable sculpture in the Baptistery, was the work of Niccolo Pisano. The fresco paintings of the fourteenth century round the walls of the Campo Santo represent the lives and death of saints, the history of Job and others from the Old Testament, the adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension, the Triumph of Death, the General Judgment, in which Solomon's fate is represented doubtful, the Inferno of Dante, and other subjects which are executed with a genius that is the admiration of every intelligent beholder. What mind, what spirituality appears in that sublime form which we see there of the Saviour pronouncing the divine malediction in the Last Judgment! It surpasses the corresponding work of Michael Angelo, in the Sextine chapel. What awe is excited by that painting of the Last Judgment by Giotto, after the inspiration of his friend Dante, which is in the Annunziata at Padua! What a solemn impression steals upon the mind on beholding that assembly of venerable sages in the cathedral of Sienna, surrounding the entire church in continued series, and yet composed alone of the holy pontiffs who have sat in Peter's chair! or that in the Basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe, comprising the one hundred and twenty-six archbishops of Ravenna, who have succeeded in an uninterrupted order from St. Apollinare, the disciple of St. Peter! Who would have thought that death so many had despoiled! for what must be the multitude of the faithful when their chief pastors form such a crowd! Many of the paintings and decorations in the churches were designed with so deep and subtle an idea, that none but the initiated could trace the grand mystery. Such is that surprising painting on the ceiling of the Gesu at Rome, by Baciccio, which is to express that every knee shall bow at the name of Jesus. In like manner, in the masterpiece of Raphael, there is the same principle of unity to the eye of those who are accustomed to the thoughts of faith. These vast solemn

* Morrona Pisa Illustrata.

frescoes, which are found in so many churches, in which there is discovered something new every time one regards them, something not there because men have read of it, but as if they have read of it because it is there, make every beholder imagine himself actually present at the awful scene, and are sufficient to soften the most obdurate. Those mosaic apses of the sixth century, like that in the Basilica of St. Vitale, at Ravenna, seem to give us an insight into the very thoughts of the early Christians; and who does not stand rivetted with devout attention to that great altar in the Basilica of St. Anthony at Padua, containing so many symbolical figures which teach heavenly lore: such as the propagation of the church throughout the world, the abundance of her spiritual gifts, the prudence requisite in her pastors, the detachment from the world which should distinguish every Christian, the punishments of the future life, the peace which is enjoyed in the church, the mysteries of the passion of our Lord? Father Angelo Bigoni describes these in his book, published lately at Padua. I saw the representation of beautiful woods and mountains painted in frescoe, on the interior walls of the ancient church of St. Martin at Rome. The fathers of the desert were seen in these landscapes, and thus the beauties and sublimity of natural scenery were introduced within the sanctuary. Desiderio, Abbot of Monte Cassino, in order to adorn the new church he had built there, brought over Greek painters and artists from Constantinople: that church is like a grotto of jewels and precious stones. In their choice of materials, the men of these ages showed how they valued durability. The gates of cypress wood which Adrian III. erected in St. Peter's were in good preservation five hundred years afterwards. In fact, there are examples of the almost incorruptibility of that wood. The Basilica of St. Paul was roofed with cedar of Libanus, and it was the oldest church in the world. The ceilings of St. Mary Major, St. Clement, and St. Mary in Trastevere, are wrought with a skill and magnificence that would defy modern art, as in fact the skill of carpenters in the middle ages greatly exceeded what is possessed at the present day. In the church of the monastery of Cluny, there was before the great altar a candelabra of prodigious magnitude of Cyprus wood, gilt and covered with crystalline

stones and beryls. It measured the height of a spear of eighteen feet in length, and six branches extended from it. This was the gift of queen Matilda*. Over the entrance of the choir, in the centre of the entire structure, where the moderns in England have generally placed a shapeless organ, there was always a vast crucifix, with images of our blessed Lady and St. John, to denote that the cross should be in the heart of all Christians. This was the rood loft, the destruction of which was so delightful a task to the self-styled reformers. Thus in the churches all things reminded men of the passion and sacred humanity of Jesus Christ. They might feel as if in Palestine, in Bethlehem, or on Calvary. Frequently too, as in the cathedral of Sienna, there was in another part some solemn representation of the holy sepulchre, with a figure of our divine Lord, and a light always burning before it within an iron grate. In short, as far as poor material works could act upon souls, the world was excluded and all its vanities; for it was not there as within that chief temple of the Anglican sect, in which one beholds nothing but the trophies of great captains, where one might suppose that all the naval battles of which history tells, from that of the Corinthians and Corcyrians were to be commemorated, and where one beholds heroes, not in their death or in their devotions, but in all their temporal glory, and in the exultation of their victory. What a contrast is seen in Catholic churches where, as in the Carthusian monastery of Ferrara, one may find the tombs of Paladins, such as the Strozzi, and other heroes who had fought against the Turks! The sepulchre of Marc Antonio Martinengo della Palata is at Brescia. That illustrious hero, though twice wounded, took prisoner with his own hand Louis Gonzaga, and died three days after his victory. He had magnificent funeral honours, and this mausoleum was erected to his memory: yet excepting his arms, which are an eagle, nothing recalls his glory on this sepulchre. The medallions and bas relievos of marble and bronze, represent the passion of Jesus Christ and other sacred subjects, which have no relation to the brilliant exploits of the hero. The ancient warriors and kings of England are only represented on their tombs, either in the solemn

* Chronicon Cluniacens.

ecstacy of repose, or as meekly invoking Christ, in the posture of that knight described by Tasso, indicating one that ever

> Had to heavenly things desire, holding
> His weapon in his right hand closed,
> His left upon his breast was humbly laid,
> That men might know that while he died he pray'd *.

At the same time countless images of saints rendered you familiar with the ineffable joys of devotion, and like the hymn of the church seemed to proclaim on all sides the brave actions, and the immortal palms of the best kind of conquerors †. Many experience a delightful astonishment on entering a Catholic country to find the art of sculpture applied to Christian subjects; for they had only before seen it under the genius of paganism. The admirable basso relievos, representing the life and death of St. John Gualbert, and other events which passed in the convent of Vallombrosa, executed by Benedetto di Rovezzano and Luca della Robbia at Florence, prove how capable this noble art is of expressing the character of Christian sanctity. The meek angelic looks of the monks in those relievos, could not have been surpassed in painting. A similar instance is seen on the gothic altar and shrine of St. Dominic, in the church of the Dominicans at Bologna, which was carved by Nicholas of Pisa in 1200. The sculpture on the front of the cathedral of St. Laurence at Genoa, is enough to draw tears, so awful, and piteous is the spectacle there represented of the martyr's passion; and the figures representing the eight beatitudes in the church of St. Anthony at Parma, proclaim with an irresistible force the vanity of man's wisdom. Duplessis speaks of certain figures in bad taste which were in the abbey church of Fontenelle, which draws the judicious remark from a modern writer, that in the time of Duplessis good taste was nothing else but a pretentious and theatrical affectation; the charm of simplicity was not then felt or esteemed; the great traditions of art were abandoned; so that many works of sculpture executed during the middle ages from the time of St. Louis resemble much more the antique than the

* Book VIII. 33. † Hymn for many martyrs.

greatest part of the productions of the modern school *. Even De Saint Victor, like the excellent Fleury, is too much disposed to speak of the barbarous taste of the middle ages; and the learned Abbe Lebeuf, in his History of the Diocese of Paris, shows with regard to the churches of the Templars, great ignorance of ecclesiastical architecture in the middle ages, and insensibility to its beauty. The observation of Müller that the Doric character created the Doric architecture, may be applied to the Catholic religion, and to the whole development of the arts in ages of faith: for it is clear from the ancient monuments that our ancestors, like the Dorians, attended to the beauty of form to a degree that might lead one to suppose they had always used that prayer, "give us what is good, and what is beautiful." In Oxford, as in any of our cathedrals you can trace the date of the modern philosophy by observing the imagery employed upon edifices. We cannot be mistaken in the date wherever we find the old Christian images superseded by statues of Jupiter, Neptune, and Apollo. Even on the portal where Laud feebly restored an image of our blessed Lady there are placed by the side of it, two naked figures of heathen graces. In Westminster Abbey, pagan imagery appears upon the tombs, not such as is merely symbolical like the hearts which the first Christians continued to engrave as we see in the catacombs, but fair imitations of the deities. The moderns, indeed, seem never satisfied unless the whole pagan mythology is before their eyes. Moreover, the old mosaics and paintings in the churches, as in Italy to this day, show evidently that the artists in the middle ages knew the necessity of making art symbolical rather than imitative; and this proves the inconsistency of the moderns who would admire and preserve the monuments of Catholic genius, but destroy the idea which inspired it. But what is above all characteristic of the paintings and sculpture of the middle ages, which are often yet more precious for their artist's sake, is the predominence of mind and spirituality, whether the form be executed with skill or only in a rude manner.

In the church of the Capuchin convent, without the walls of Sursee, are two altars, over which are placed

* Langlois Essai Historique sur Saint Wandrille.

groups of images. One represents the blessed Mary holding the dead body of her divine Son; the other represents our Lord in the garden, with the angel offering him the chalice. At first the eyes might turn elsewhere, as though the form but ill accorded to the design of art, through sluggishness of unreplying matter; but their final conquest is no less certain: curiosity prompts them to return, and one finds oneself arrested by an indescribable emotion of pity mixed with devout awe: then it is all over with one's proud science: one's eyes are rivetted upon them, and one feels one's whole soul overcome with a sense of that dread mystery which they describe with such pathetic simplicity. But after reading that St. Eloy used to have always some holy book open before him to sanctify his soul, while his hands were working at the shrines, and that others, like Guercini, never commenced a painting without first purifying their souls by sacramental confession,—can we wonder that the works of such ages should be unlike our own? Aurelius Lomi, of Pisa, wrote upon his picture of the Adoration of the Magi these pious lines:—"Et quid retribuam tibi, O bone Jesu, pro omnibus quæ retribuisti mihi? Non aurum, non thus, nec mirram, sed cor meum et de thesauro cordis mei hoc opus manûm mearum." The great Bolognese painter, Augustin Carrachi, used to make a retreat in the convent of the Capuchins, where he died. Hence these paintings can sometimes give us quite a new view of scenes with the history of which we had been long familiar, ennobling them to a degree far beyond any conception we had formed from books. Such is the case on regarding that gracious frescoe in the church of the Carthusians near Pavia, which represents St. Paul and St. Anthony dividing the loaf, and the raven sitting by them on the rock. In fact, the early Christian painters were generally monks and men of the interior life. Raphael had a friar for his master in the divine art. This was friar Bartholomew, the Dominican, who is regarded as one of the greatest painters of the Florentine school. Bramante, too, made his first studies in drawing from the works of the friar Bartholomew. The beautiful miniatures in the Antiphonarium and Liturgical Books which belonged to the choir of the great Carthusian monastery at Pavia, were executed by monks. These ages possessed numerous painters of great excel-

lence, whose names are now nearly forgotten; such as Belius, Verrochio, Montagna, Perousin, Bourdichon, John of Paris. Princes were even celebrated as painters, like the pious Count of Provence, Renè of Anjou. The passion for the arts was then constantly allied with Christian fervour, and the idea of salvation. Michael Angelo composed his testament in three lines. "I bequeath my soul to God, my body to the earth, my goods to my nearest relations. I recommend them and my friends to bear constantly in mind the sufferings of the Son of God." Art has felt deeply the loss of this profound religious sentiment, and has been reduced to a mere mechanical display of skilful execution, indicating often the most offensive affectation, rather a mockery or a caricature than a just expression of the desire of the human soul.

It is by no means certain that, even in point of execution, the noble arts of design and sculpture were so far behind during the middle ages, when it is supposed they were in infancy: the broad seals of churches, abbeys, schools, cities, and castles, to which an historian may refer with such delight as illustrative of ancient manners, are sufficient to demonstrate the contrary. Many of these, still to be met with in England, are worthy of the finest epoch of art. The seal of a small convent of the ourteenth century, might now make the subtlest workman wonder. What ages must these have been, when taste and beauty extended even to the appendages of their title-deeds! The mutilated images which I saw on the west front of the ruined abbey of Crowland, would not disgrace the cabinets of the British Museum, though placed along with the spoils of the Parthenon. There is a book existing, a Benedictional, written by Godemann, who in the year 970 was appointed first abbot of Thorney, by the founder Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, in which the paintings are a proof of the fact, which will astonish many, that the fine arts in England, in the tenth century, had attained to a high perfection in their noblest capacity. These figures are drawn in the most graceful manner of the antique, and being surrounded with shining gold and fraught with all the simplicity of the old Christian paintings, they unite the perfection of the classic style and the saintly tenderness of the middle ages. That of our Lord's entrance on Palm Sunday, and

the portrait of St. Ethelreda, are of such exquisite grace, that the eyes which bend on them seem never to have their fill. The collar of the golden fleece, which the emperor, Charles V. used to wear, which is a chain of gold with twelve medallions, representing the stages of the Passion, is a work of such beauty, that it is doubtful whether any artist, goldsmith, or engraver, at the present day, would be capable of executing it. Of late years, indeed, men have begun to do justice to the arts of the middle ages. In Germany, copies of its devout historic paintings are multiplied by means of lithography. The great Catholic painter Cornelius has recalled the art to its religious original. Oberbeck paints in the style of the middle age; and his pictures are inspired by piety and grace. The brothers Eberhard are the living masters of Catholic sculpture, like their fathers of the thirteenth century. But to proceed.

The religious use of images and paintings appears in the first age of Christianity. As Mabillon says, it was most ancient in the Church, and instituted in the first cradles of the Christian religion *. Tertullian describes in what form our Saviour was then generally painted †; and Eusebius mentions the painted images of Christ and of the Apostles which had been preserved from ancient times. St. Augustin alludes to the number of these paintings ‡, and speaks of one in these terms: "Dulcissima pictura est hæc," in which you see St. Stephen being stoned and Saul holding his vestments. St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and other holy Greek Fathers, bear the same testimony to the universal use of pictures and images. It appears also that a symbolical painting of the blessed Trinity was known to the first ages, as was seen in the Basilica of St. Felix at Nola §. We observe that the chapels in the sepulchres of the martyrs at Rome, where the Christian mysteries were celebrated in times of persecution, are adorned with paintings of roses, birds, crosses, and images of saints. Some of these I copied in the catacombs of St. Cyriaque, the descent to which is from the garden of the church of St. Lorenzo. The

* Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. sec. 3.
† De Pudicitia, cap. X.
‡ Lib. I. de Conscusa, Evang. c. X.
§ S. Paulin. Epist. XII.

passage to this chapel extends more than a quarter of a mile, and is literally between the dead, whose mouldering skeletons are still remaining in the hollow places on each side. Over the stone altar which was discovered in the baths of Titus, is a fresco painting of St. Felicita and her sons; and on the side walls are images of the Apostles. In the lowest subterranean chapel in the church of St. Martin, you see the mosaic of our Lady, which existed at least in the time of St. Silvester. In the church of St. Denis at Rome is the image of our Lady, which belonged to St. Gregory the Great.

The arts were adopted and cherished by the Church with a parent's care, and the result was a new era in their history. Nothing is more evident, says Northcote, than that the Church of Rome alone has been the creator and sole nourisher of the art in its grandest aspect, from which it has received all its dignity. It has now been clearly proved for some ages past, that there is a moral impossibility in the way of this noble art, in its loftiest aims, ever arriving at any degree of respectability in a Protestant country, where it cannot rise beyond the mechanical exercise of a portrait, or the humble baubles for a cabinet: all its struggles are but vain: as well might we expect to see corn grow on the barren rock *. The spirit of these concessions of a great artist will not be approved of by the supporters of the modern school; but without going into the argument at length, on a subject which is admitted by theologians to be one of those which are named adiaphorus, we may be permitted to observe, in opposition to them, that had the Church never imposed any veneration for pictures and images, which were memorials of the persons and actions they represent, she would have opposed a law of nature, and established what Luther was so fond of,—a distinction between theological and philosophical truth, and made that true by her decrees which reason pronounces to be absurd and impossible. To seek to take any part from the Catholic religion, would be as insane as to wish to expunge a tint from the prism, or a principle from the laws of Nature.

Boleslaus IV. King of Poland, used to wear round his neck a golden medal with the portrait of his father;

* Life of Titian, Vol. I. 397.

and when he had to perform any action of importance, he used to move it to his lips, and kiss it with veneration, saying, "God preserve me, my father, from ever doing any thing unworthy of thy royal name*." That an expression of reverence, which the moderns themselves involuntarily admit to be pious when used towards a parent, should become impious when its object was God or his blessed saints, cannot be believed by them without supposing that truth is divided against itself; but many would rather condemn the nature of things than their own error. The grounds on which Christians use images and paintings, as contrary to the abominable customs of Pagans, who, as Niebuhr remarks, believed, notwithstanding what Julian and later sophists might say, that when an image was consecrated, the Deity entered into it as into a body, and dwelt in it†, are shown in detail in that curious Dialogue, composed in the fifth century, between Zachæus, a Christian, and Apollonius, a philosopher‡.

The first who declared war against the Christian images were the Jews, and also the heathens, in consequence of their detestation of Christ and the martyrs. To them succeeded the Marcionites, Manichæans, and Phantasiastans, who abhorred the image of Christ, because they did not believe that he had taken true flesh, as St. Augustin testifies§. In the seventh century, the impure sect of Mahomet severely prohibited the use of images. The Turks have such a horror of all paintings of creatures that have or had life, that with them a naturalist, who should make a drawing of a bird or a fish, would be deemed guilty of mortal sin. In the eighth century, the Emperor Leo, the Isaurian, deceived by some Jewish impostors. commenced the impious war against the Church; but he was resisted by the Roman Pontiffs, St. Gregory II. and St. Gregory III. as also by St. German, the patriarch of Constantinople. Under succeeding emperors the Iconaclastic heresy was pursued till the second Council of Nice, since which it was

* Savedra, Christian Prince, I. 174.

† History of Rome, Vol. II. p. 102.

‡ Consultatio Zachæi Christiana et Apollonii Philosophi, Lib. I. c. 28, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. X.

§ In Lib. de Hæres. cap. XLVI.

extinguished in the East. From the twelfth century, various obscure heretics prosecuted it in the West, until the great revolution of the sixteenth century, when it was sustained and established by the civil power in various nations, as it continues at the present day. It is infinitely remarkable that this detestation of images should have been first defended and eventually perpetuated by the secular power, in opposition to the sentiments of such men as St. Basil, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and other illustrious doctors of the Church, who probably were quite as acute philosophers as the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, Michael Balbus, or even Edward VI. and his sage counsellors. The childish and servile fears of the moderns on this subject were calculated to excite only the sorrow and compassion of the meek, who are inheritors of the earth and of all that it produces. For the sake of an argument, granting it possible that images might be abused, they remarked, that at all events images, like the cherubim, whether representing angels as they appeared to men, or as Clemens Alexandrinus, in his eagerness to discover hieroglyphics every where, fancifully argues, signifying only the rest of the glorified spirits *, were things that, in either sense, the people, surrounded with idolatrous nations, might have abused, and yet they were made by the express command of God. Why were the Jews so expressly forbidden to touch the ark, though a thing inanimate, and to venerate it so religiously, unless because it was an instrument of religion, and because to fall down at the sight of it was nothing else but to adore God, of whose presence it was the symbol? These objectors to paintings and images might as well object to God for having made the lights of heaven so resplendent, and the plants and herbs so beautiful and odoriferous, because Divine honours have been paid to them by erring creatures, deluded by the artifice of demons. This is what even Walafried Strabo says, which shows that the abbots of the ninth century were men who knew what they were doing †. In fact, it may be seen in Mabillon's Preface to the fourth century of the Benedictines, that the great ecclesiastical writers

* Stromat. Lib. V. c. 6.

† De Rebus Ecclesiast. Cap. VIII.

from the sixth century uniformly inculcated the necessity of guarding against abuse, though the most vehement never proceeded so far as to tax with idolatry the practices which they condemned. The writings of Dungal, the recluse of St. Denis, and of Walafried Strabo, evinced more than a reasonable caution; yet "images and paintings are so to be had and loved," says the latter, "that neither the utility be nullified by contempt, which irreverence would then be extended to those whose resemblances they are, nor by an immoderate worship, the soundness of faith be wounded, and too much honour being paid to corporeal things, we might seem to contemplate too little things spiritual." In every age of the Church their use was defended with the most perfect sense, at the same time that there was a possible danger to be guarded against; for where is there not danger for man, who abuses the best things? But it was well understood that, by the mystery of the Incarnation, idolatry was a crime, as Bossuet says, impossible to a Christian; for wherever the Mediator, man and God, was adored, there was no possibility of supposing, like the Pagans, that men could be made equal to God, since their distance from him by sin was so fully revealed by that doctrine. The vehemence of Agabard and Jonas was to be ascribed to the accounts which had been transmitted to the West of the conduct of the Greeks; but the synod of Paris wisely determined, that the peace of the Church in Gaul was to be preferred to this controversy, which then agitated the Greeks. Besides, as was observed by the fathers of the second Council of Nice, the advantage to be derived from imagery, under the spiritual revelation of the Gospel, was something too positive for reason to sanction the neglect of it. The ancients often used the word Γράμμασιν, to imply that a wall or a robe was adorned with paintings, for these were in fact the best letters for most men *. Hence, always to the illiterate, and frequently to philosophers themselves, the walls of a Catholic church were the best of books, and even the windows, which showed many a prophet, and many a saint, served to the end of instruction †, as that of York Cathedral to the east, on which was painted almost the whole history of the Bible. In

* Eurip. Io, 1159.

† Durandi, Rationale, I. 3.

the Festival, which was a devotional book published in the reign of Henry VII. the use of sacred images was thus clearly explained: "Men should learn by images whom they should worship and follow in living. To do God's worship to images every man is forbidden. Therefore, when thou comest to the church, first behold God's body upon the altar, and thank him that he vouchsafes every day to come from the holy heaven above for the health of thy soul. Look thou upon the cross, and thereby have mind of the passion he suffered for thee; then on the images of the holy saints, not relying on them, but that by the sight of them thou mayest have mind on them that be in heaven: and so to follow their life as much as thou mayest." Plutarch, in his Treatise on the manner in which one ought to hear, says, "that while there are many parts of the body through which vice passes to the soul, virtue has but one hold on young persons, which is by means of their ears." The Church improved on Nature, and made the eyes and other senses minister to sanctity. To this Dante alludes, saying

> Since from things sensible alone ye learn
> That, which digested rightly, after turns
> To intellectual. For no other cause
> The Scripture, condescending graciously
> To your perception, hands and feet to God
> Attributes, nor so means; and holy church
> Doth represent with human countenance
> Gabriel and Michael *.———

A most admirable passage on this theme occurs in the great work of Vincent of Beauvais. "Superstition," he says, "is a vice contrary to religion. Superstition is said to exceed the medium of religion, not because it exceeds in doing more in the Divine worship than religion would do, or that it tends more to any thing, but because the worship which it pays, it exhibits either to whom it ought not, or in a manner in which it ought not. It is fourfold—consisting in idolatry, divination, observances, and in paying respect more to the written figures than to the meaning of the words. The first is the most grievous of all offences against God. To God

* Parad. IX.

the Creator alone, on account of his singular excellence, is due the worship of divinity: therefore, if one should pay Divine worship to any creature, he incurs the vice of superstition, of which idolatry is a species. If we read of images of cherubim in the Old Testament, as we now have in the churches images of the Blessed Virgin and of Christ, it is observed that the worship of latria is not paid to them, but they are used to a certain signification, that the images may impress on the hearts of men the memory of the persons they represent, and that faith may be confirmed as to the excellence of the Creator of the angels *." Assuredly, these were not men to stand in need of the counsels of modern spirituality. "The soul never thinks without a phantasm," says Aristotle, "which shows the error of those who seek for intellectual perfection in what is ἀσωματώτατον †. Fichte, an authority not to be suspected here, confesses that, respecting its external operation, philosophy is less powerful than painting; for the latter has a sympathetic power to transfuse sentiments into the souls of other men, which philosophy has not: he says, that painting and sculpture are capable of giving to all persons some kind of perception, that there are pleasures which far surpass any pleasures afforded by the senses. In regard to its outward influence, philosophy is worse off than art, since the latter, by a secret magical sympathy, which runs through the spiritual world, can elevate even such as are aliens from art, for a few moments, into some communion with it, and can give them a foretaste of her joys; whereas, the mysteries of philosophy are altogether closed to those in whose souls the idea has not burst forth into life. Would you now remark the effect which is produced upon minds of different degrees of cultivation and intelligence, by the images and paintings in the churches? Mark then, first, the impression upon the multitude, from which Dante borrows that sublime comparison,

> Like one who comes from far to see
> Our Veronica; and, the while 'tis shown

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* Vincentius Bellovacensis, Speculum Morale, Lib. III. Pars 3. Dist. 26, 27.

† Aristotle, De Animâ, A. F.

Hangs over it with never-sated gaze,
And, all that he hath heard revolving, saith
Unto himself in thought: "And didst thou look
E'en thus, O Jesus, my true Lord and God?
And was this semblance thine? so gaz'd I then
Adoring *."

Open the writings of Leibnitz and of Lavater, and you will find evidence that the study of philosophy, so far from depriving men of such transports, only renders them more profound. Nature, in her tender and ingenious solicitude for the wants of all, imparts them even to humanity in its lowest state; witness that affecting description by a modern writer, of a poor little deformed orphan, whom a priest of blessed charity had nourished, and made a bell-ringer in Nôtre Dame at Paris. "After all," he says, "this poor creature turned his attention with regret to the side of men. His cathedral sufficed to him. It was peopled with marble figures of kings, saints, bishops, who at least never laughed in his face, but had always for him a tranquil and benevolent look. The very monsters in stone had no hatred against him; they rather seemed to mock other men. The saints were his friends, the monsters were his friends, and the cathedral was to him society, nature, and the universe." All that we have said can give but a feeble idea of the interest, in point of literature, art, and history, attached to the ancient churches; but even this little is sufficient to account for the intense affection with which persons of every description, during the ages of faith, revered and loved them. At Florence, in the Piazza del Duomo, the place where Dante loved to sit contemplating the cathedral, is distinguished by a white stone. In the nave is an old painting, in which this poet is represented walking outside of the walls of the city, holding a book in his hand, and the dome of the cathedral appears the most conspicuous object of the landscape. In allusion to the baptistery, he says himself,

—— Saint John's fair dome, of me belov'd †.

Lebeuf is enabled to trace the site of the palace of the pious King Gontran, by observing that of the church of

* Parad. XXXI. † Infern. XIX.

St. Marcel, for whom he had so great a devotion *; and in Spain, the castles of nobility were always constructed so as to front the church. St. Odo, the second abbot of Cluni, describes the grief of kings and people on the burning of the church of St. Martin at Tours, and says, that not only the rustics, who so peculiarly loved the blessed man, but even kings were seen to weep †. Petrarch's love for churches appears strongly marked in his correspondence. In a letter to William de Pastrengo he says, "I dwell at Parma, and pass my life in the church or in my garden: tired of the city, I wander often into the woods:" but his chief affection was for the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, to be near which, he hired a house in that quarter of the city. He says that he never entered it without feeling an extraordinary fervour. There was an image of St. Ambrose, said to resemble him. Petrarch was never weary of beholding it. "This great archbishop appeared to give me his blessing. What majesty in his countenance! what sweetness and expression in his eyes! This sight spread over my heart a lively and inexpressible tranquillity. I rejoiced that I came to Milan." Afterwards, when inviting a young man of genius, named Modi, to live with him as instructor to his son John, he ends his letter, which stated the advantages he could promise, by saying, "I forgot our being near St. Ambrose, which may perhaps have more influence with you than all I have said." Hence, we do not find these great Christian poets and philosophers procuring curious or exquisite dwellings for themselves. Petrarch composed his Africa in a gloomy house, in a narrow street of Parma; and the house of Ariosto, in the little street of Miresole, in Ferrara, (though, as the inscription modestly states, suitable to him), is small, and devoid of every advantage which we might suppose would endear it to a poet. But the one was near the cathedral and the other adjoining the great abbey of Benedictines; and this was sufficient.

The temporal power and the voice of genius co-operated with the affections of the people and the faith of the clergy, to preserve the churches from all profanation. The first churches were called Basilicas, as if they were royal

* Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. III. 213.

† De Combust. Basil. Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 146.

dwellings: for even the word in its ordinary usage with the Romans had reference to kingly jurisdiction, though in the litanee at the consecration of a church, the title of regal house is given to it, no doubt, on higher than such temporal and human grounds. According to the statutes of the Council of Lyons, we all decree, said the Fathers assembled at Sens, in the year 1460, that no one in churches shall raise any sedition, or clamour, or confusion. Let there be no councils of Universities, or of any societies held in them; neither convocations nor public parliaments, nor vain and profane conversations *. By the canons of the Council of Mayence, in the year 813, it was forbidden to hold any assemblies in churches for temporal affairs. This sense of what was due to the sanctity of churches, appeared even in warriors and conquerors. Henry, King of England, making war upon Fulco, Count of Anjou, was defeated and forced to fly with great loss of prisoners. Early the following morning the count gave directions to the monks who were in the camp, to prepare to sing a solemn mass; but when they came to the church they could not enter it, in consequence of the crowd of prisoners who had been captured on the preceding day, and placed there in confinement. The count, turning to his own people, grievously reproved them. "What have ye done," said he, "fearing not God, neither having any reverence for men! Are you ignorant that the Jews were severely rebuked by our Lord for this very offence? 'Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.' By the canons of the Church, whose sons we are called, we are told that whatever criminal shall escape to a church, he should be suffered to depart without punishment; and we who judge the land should love justice, that we may live to justice, delivered from sin. Then he called his steward, and ordered him to provide an abundance of meat and wine, that, strengthened with bread and made joyful with wine, these prisoners might all return to their own homes without any ransom: they were in number about five hundred †." Even in their vengeance, the men of these ages respected the churches. Barbarossa,—that name ne'er uttered without tears in Milan,—in pronouncing

* Concil. Senonens. Cap. II. apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. V.
† Gesta Consulum Andegavensium, Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. X.

its destruction, commanded that the cathedral should be spared, as also the Ambrosian Basilica, and the monastery called the Greater, which was enriched with the gifts of the Emperor Otho, in the tenth century, and by Didier, the last king of the Lombards. Philip II. King of Spain, besieging the town of St. Quintin, and having to make a breach, was forced with his cannon to batter down a small chapel on the wall, dedicated to St. Laurence, in reparation of which destruction he afterwards built, under the invocation of the same saint, that famous chapel in the Escurial in Spain, which is, for workmanship, one of the wonders of the world. Even Alaric, when Rome was taken and sacked, allowed the church of St. Peter and that of St. Paul to serve as an asylum. The barbarian soldiers protected the translation of the treasures of the altar, such an influence had the force of the Christian tradition upon the minds of the rudest warriors; so that the security of the churches from the hands of men appeared to become known even to the instinct of animals, for the stork would build her nest on their towers, and by the holiness of its dwelling, secure the right of succession.

Some churches acquired a peculiar interest from the saints who had frequented them in their lives. Thus the church of St. Merri at Paris, used to be visited as that in which St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, when a student of theology in the year 1220, used to assist every night at matins *, and that of St. Etienne des Gres, as that in which St. Francis de Sales used to perform his devotions when a student. Others had claims to veneration of a more historical or poetic kind, as that old Baptistery where were made Christian the great spirits sung by Dante. But all were holy and venerable places corresponding with that desire imprinted in the soul of man which prompts him to seek places even on this earth, where he may feel, that in a more especial manner, God is honoured and adored, and where the very ground is sanctified and holy. Every church, under whatever saint, was consecrated in honour of the holy and victorious cross; every consecrated church had beheld the twelve mystic lights which were borne round it in procession, commemorating the eternal light and the lucid mansions where rest the souls of the saints. Sub-

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, I. 6.

lime are the words of the divine office in the preface of the dedication. "This is truly the house of prayer, the temple of the habitation of thy glory, the seat of unchangeable truth, the sanctuary of eternal love. This is the ark which leads us from the flood of the world into the port of salvation; this the only and beloved spouse whom Christ acquired with his blood, whom he vivifies with his Spirit; in whose bosom, being regenerated by thy grace, we are fed with the milk of the word, we are strengthened with the bread of life, we are consoled with the assistance of thy mercy. This he preserving, militates faithfully on earth, and he crowning, triumphs everlastingly in heaven." "Who," cries St. Bernard, "would fear to call the walls of this church holy, which the hands of consecrated priests have sanctified with so many mysteries, within which the sacred lessons are read, and the devout whisper of holy prayer ascends, walls which are honoured by the blessed presence of the sacred relics, and where flights of angels are known to keep watch? Yet these walls are not holy on account of themselves, but by reason of those who are sanctified. The house is holy on account of bodies, bodies are holy on account of souls, and souls are holy on account of the Spirit of God dwelling in them *." Men there are indeed, who have yet to learn with what veneration, as St. Jerome says, they ought to regard the Catholic altar, its sacred chalices, and holy veils, and other things pertaining to the worship of our Lord's passion; who have yet to learn that these are not empty things without sense or holiness, but that from their connection with the awful mysteries of our Lord, they are to be venerated with the same respect †. They have been accustomed to assume the manners of those who ascribe all things to fortune and deny a Providence.

> Atque adeo intrepidi quæcumque altaria tangunt.

But the profound awe and scrupulous reverence with which St. Jerome used to enter the churches ‡ continued during the ages of faith to move the mind of Christians

* In Dedicat. Ecclesiæ, Serm. IV.
† S. Hieronymi Epist. LXXXVIII.
‡ Epist. XXXVIII.

with respect to them. The primitive Christians used never to enter the churches without washing their hands and putting on their cleanest apparel *. The inscription which was on several of the vases for the blessed water in the churches of Paris, ΝΙΨΩΝ ΑΝΟΜΗΜΑΤΑ ΜΗ ΜΟΝΑΝ ΟΨΙΝ, was said to have been originally engraved on that of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople †. Kings took off their crowns, and in some countries it was even the custom to make bare the feet at the threshold. "Follow my advice," said St. Jerome to a heretic, "enter the churches of the martyrs, and you will soon be cleansed. You will be kindled not by those lighted tapers at the tombs of the martyrs which displease you, but by invisible flames, and you will then confess what you now deny ‡." This remark leads me to the conclusion, for it completes the explanation of the secret, why such importance was ascribed in a spiritual philosophy, even to the material temples during the ages of faith; why they were constructed with such zeal, and preserved with such veneration. From what motive do you ask were men so indefatigable in constructing and preserving these magnificent churches? Was it, as a late writer says, from the want which they felt of something visible to demonstrate the power of unknown and confused principles? Was it from any such vague indefinite speculation, or for any positive object of mere temporal good and national glory? No; the modern philosophers may languish over their proud theories respecting them; their feeling artists may admire and attempt to imitate them; under the encouragement of those who frequent them like the bats in former times, who used to feed upon the oil of their lamps, there may be some who are ready to do full justice to their admirable grandeur, in an architectural or even in a poetical point of view; but they must be seen in another light, and with more philosophic eyes, if men would rightly understand their true connection with the ages of our past history; they must be considered in their character of Catholic sanctuaries disposed for certain specific moral ends, towards furthering the sanctification of souls, and hastening the

* Benedict. XIV. de Sacrificio Missæ, Sect. I. 65.
† De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, III. ii. 425.
‡ Advers. Vigilant.

number of the elect, as having their splendour within; and as being remedies and instruments of deliverance for the wretched captives of this world.

Churches were formerly asylums to save men from the death of the body, and still they continue to be spiritual asylums, to which men can fly at every moment and escape the death of the soul, recover the joy of salvation, and be strengthened with a perfect spirit. Behold them, for instance, on the vigil of a festival. But if you be of those who are with error yet encompassed, let me first attempt to instruct you. Ah! it is afflicting to see you enter our churches! What furious or what suspicious looks do you dart at the holy place, as if, in the obscurity of this vast edifice, you supposed that God was concealing an avenger, armed to inflict punishment on you for your own calumnies and for the sacrilege of your fathers! But no: thou art within the house of peace. Here thou must all distrust behind thee leave; here be vile fear extinguished. This choir resounds with the sweet hymns of evening, and all these retired chapels along the nave, are thronged with children preparing for their first communion, or with weeping penitents confessing their sins, and hearing the wonderful words of the Catholic church, which she alone can pronounce,—penance and restitution. Tranquillized as to what respects yourself, say where do you find indications here of unknown and confused principles? but mark with joy and with astonishment how this sublime work, raised by mortal hands, encompasses and assists a mighty spiritual operation! Here is a spectacle to give delight to angels; for here is visible, to the eye of those winged messengers, the elevation of innocent souls to God; here they witness that which in heaven makes the wheel of justice run counter to the edge, the sinner's cheek stained by the precious streaming tears of self-accusing: here they mark the first steps of a renovated life, resolutions to forgive enemies, perhaps to forget your reproaches, your calumnies, vows to found hospitals for the poor, to deliver the helpless, to forsake all things for Christ.

"The whole sacred place ought to be held by us always in great reverence," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "on account of the many benefits which are there vouchsafed to those who there devoutly pray. For there the penitent sinners receive pardon; the just,

returning thanks merit grace; the poor, lamenting and praying, receive alms; the rich, showing mercy, merit for themselves in return God's mercy; there the priest, celebrating, offers to God, for himself and many others praying on bended knees, the sacrifice worthier than all sacrifice. There the devout supplicant at mass meditates with tears on the sacred passion of Christ. There the stranger and traveller, wandering over the earth and sea, receives a blessing, and Jesus Christ as a faithful friend and guide, who leads all wanderers safe through every way. There the youth, who serves the priest, supplies the place of an angel. There the communicant receives the most holy body of the Lord, the food of angels, the most precious of all gifts. There, before going to his daily labour, the disconsolate receives comfort, the timid confidence, the contrite spiritual joy. There the tempted finds a remedy, the distracted counsel, the fainting help. There the sound receives support, the sick medicine, the dead, by prayer that riseth up from the heart which lives in grace, deliverance from penal fire. It is good therefore to enter the house of God, to go about the tombs, to contemplate the relics and images of the saints, suppliantly to adore the sacrament of Christ, not to discuss high things, or wish to penetrate difficulties, but secret things humbly to venerate, and profound things to commit to God. For truth deceives no man. Almighty God can do all things. Brethren, mark these portals, and remember now is the time of grace; a little while and we can seek and knock, a little while and we can merit an eternal kingdom. Lo the gate of heaven is not yet shut; the doors are open for all who will to enter them. O faithful and humble soul, consider how great is the mercy of God upon thee in all thy life, which still delays and waits for thee. O happy church: truly in thee is a hidden God, an infinite treasure, a copious redemption, an everlasting safety. Human eye seeth not, nor can any finite intelligence penetrate that mysterious ineffable presence of heaven's great Lord, the almighty foe to ill. O salutaris hostia quæ cœli pandis ostium, wondrous things are related of thee, to whom, by high effect of surpassing grace, nothing is impossible, who canst in mercy or in judgment do all things in heaven and in earth! Let weak and frail man prepare himself then before he enters the church, re-

membering what majesty is there veiled, and presuming not of himself, but seeking pardon in holy fear with the publican, that he may deserve with Lazarus, in the future country, to find eternal rest *. That men to whom such thoughts were present, might forget all that material beauty and sublimity of arches and towers, which alone arrest the attention of those who have never beheld churches, unless in their perverted and desecrated state, should fill no one with surprise. But it is from considering them in their spiritual point of view, as sacramental instruments, assisting sinners to enter upon salvation's way, and as supplying that living water, of which those who drink shall never more feel thirst, that you can comprehend the consolation of those who, with faith and meekness, entered them, and that you can explain why those very doors, as at the four basilicas of Rome, are literally worn down with the kisses of the faithful: it is from such reflections that the disciple of the modern religions, who returns from visiting the threshold of the apostles, may perhaps gain sufficient wisdom to exclaim with Jacob, when he rose from sleep, " Truly that place was holy and I knew it not."

The privileges of sanctuary, attached to the churches in the middle ages, so secure from violation, even from the most flagitious, in consequence of the terror inspired by the tradition of the deaths of Robert de Clermont, Marechal of France, and of John de Châlons, Marechal of Champagne, who broke open the gates of St. Mëry, need not detain us long. For that of Westminster, Shakespear has inspired us all with a poetic affection. That of the temple still gives its name to an adjoining street. In the old time, long before the house of Durham was suppressed, the abbey church, and all the church yard, and all the circuit thereof, was a sanctuary for any man that had committed any great offence, and fled to the church door, knocking at it, to have it opened. " There were certain men that did lye always in two chambers over the said north door, for the purpose, that when any such offenders did come and knock, straitway they were let in at any hour, and then they did run strait way to the Galilee bell and did tole it, to the intent that any man that heard it might know that

* Thom. de Kempis. Sermonum Pars III.

some man had taken sanctuary: and when the prior had intelligence thereof, he sent word and commanded them to have a gown of black cloth, made with a cross of yellow, called St. Cuthbert's cross, set on the shoulder of the left arm, to the intent that every one might see that there was such a privilege granted by God unto St. Cuthbert's shrine for all such offenders to fly unto for succour until such time as they might obtain their prince's pardon; and likewise they had meat and drink, bedding and other necessaries for thirty-seven days at the expence of the house, till such time as the prior could get them conveyed out of the diocese *." There is something in this ancient privilege which pleads forcibly in its defence, at least where poets are the judges, one of whom, after describing a poor victim who had taken sanctuary in the church of our Lady at Paris, concludes thus: "We may add that the church, this vast church which surrounded her on all sides, which guarded and saved her, was itself a sovereign source of calm. The solemn lines of this architecture, the religious attitude of all the objects which were before her, the pious and serene thoughts which disengaged themselves as it were from all the pores of this stone, produced an impression upon her. The edifice also had sounds of such blessedness and of such majesty, that they soothed this suffering soul. The monotonous chaunt of the clergy, the responses of the people, sometimes inarticulate, sometimes thundering, the harmonious vibrations of the glazed casements, the deep and solemn bell murmuring from the towers above, made her lose the memory of her woes and soothed her imagination. Thus each sun that rose found her more consoled, with healthier looks, less pale." But the need for sanctuaries has ceased. They have nearly every where disappeared; and though in Italy, in the fifteenth century, that real age of darkness, from the clouds which attended and facilitated, if they did not even occasion, the rise of heresy, the asylums or sanctuaries were dreadfully abused, we may with truth apply to them as they existed in the middle ages, the observation of Müller, that in heroic times those institutions must have

* The ancient Rites and Monuments of the Church of Durham, 71.

been of double importance which checked the fearful consequences of a rash act, sanctified the workings of an uneasy conscience, or rather gave time for reconciliation with God, and provided against the eager thirst for revenge which would have involved both the aggressor and the injured in equal misery.

CHAPTER III.

But it was not alone within towered cities, or the walls of vast basilicas that religion gave to the meek the possession of the earth. Religious men possessed the isles of Iona and Lindisfarne, and hermits wild rocks in the desert sea. For those who lived well, who gave their hearts to God, and placed their happiness in him, the whole world was but a temple, as Vauquelin, the Lord of Iveteaux, said in his address to princes *. "To a faithful man the whole world is full of riches," as St. Bonaventura said, "fideli homini totus mundus divitiarum est: —for all things good and evil are made to serve him †." Whatever in creation was beautiful, being referred to the glory of God, who alone is the origin and source of all things, was part of the inalienable inheritance of the meek, so that Louis of Blois says, "If you once possess God you possess all the rest. He comprises within himself all that delights our hearts and gives us pleasure. Being himself the model, the first type of all things, he is every thing: he is the increated essence of all that is; for without doubt, in his eternal science, he has had from all eternity the plan and idea of all that he has made; all that has received existence from him has been known to him always, has always lived, and will live for ever in his divine thoughts. We ourselves have in this manner been eternally present to the thought of God.

* Gouget, Bibliotheq. Française, Tom. XVI. 113.
† Meditationes Vitæ Christi, c. XXI.

In this sense we are in him from all eternity; in this sense we are uncreated, because in him, in his thought, all things live eternally. Thus, in the essence of God are the models of all things which remain for ever without degenerating. Whereas in this material world, made for our senses, we have only, as it were, the signs and emblems of real things. Now these signs and emblems pass with time, but the perfections of the Creator are everlastingly the same *." "Seek whatever you wish," says St. Augustin, "nevertheless you will find nothing dearer, nothing better than Him who made all things: seek him who made, and in him and from him you will have all things †." "Observe," says the holy Eucher in a letter to Valerian, "that what I say here is entirely in accordance with that attachment which we all have for life. Yes, it is in the interest of this love of life that I speak to you now on the part of God: for if you find such sweetness in it, all miserable and rapid as is this life which passes, ought you not to feel far more attached to that which will be eternally happy? ought you not to desire to perpetuate that which gives you so much pleasure, to add a thousand new charms to a state which is already so agreeable to you? in a word, to render infinite and immortal this imperfect and transitory happiness, which, notwithstanding its deficiency, appears still worthy of all your affection?" We see, therefore, how the saints were disposed to enjoy and to sanction that present possession of the riches of the visible nature, which was promised from the mountain. It seemed to them as highly useful in the two first of the three conditions of the internal life, in correspondence to which the holy church proposed the recital of the gradual Psalms, on which foundation the great Bellarmin composed his book De ascensione mentis in Deum, which Cardinal Bona said should be read by all those who desire to understand the invisible things of God, by those which are made, and who greatly wish not so much to know as to use the mystic steps of spiritual ascension, for whom what serves to the ruin of others becomes an instrument of elevation, to whom the aspect of creatures is a ladder of ascent, not a stumbling-block

* Institutio Spiritualis, cap. VIII.

† Tract. in Ps. xxxiv.

of offence *. It seems then as if this seat of earth were to them like heaven; as if angels might repose there or wander with delight and love to haunt her sacred shades; their days are only a constant ecstacy, their soul a song of praise. These are the meditative souls described by the poet, whom solitude and contemplation elevate irresistibly towards ideas of infinity, that is, towards religion: all whose thoughts turn to enthusiasm and prayer; whose whole existence is a mute hymn to the Deity and to hope; who seek in themselves and in the creation which surrounds them steps on which they may ascend to God, expressions and images to reveal him to themselves, and to reveal themselves to him †, because God is clearer seen by reflection in his creatures than in his essence, as the sun in the morning was seen first by the Sidonian servant who looked towards the west when he beheld its light shining upon the mountains. Profound and astonishing are the meditations of holy men respecting the love with which these sanctified creatures may be regarded by a meek and faithful soul, living in deep discernment of goodness celestial, whose broad signature is on the universe. For "what is paradise?" asks the author of Theologia Germanica, "Paradise is whatever exists: for whatever exists is good and delightful and agreeable to God. Therefore also it exists and may rightly be called paradise. Paradise is also said to be a vestibule or a suburb of the celestial kingdom. Thus also every thing that exists may well be called a suburb of eternity. For creatures are a demonstration and a way which leads to God and to eternity. So all things are a vestibule and suburb of eternity, and therefore may deservedly be styled paradise. In this paradise all things are allowed to man excepting the fruit of one tree, and that is self-will, or the willing of any thing contrary to the eternal will ‡." Here arises a question. Since all things ought to be loved, ought sin to be loved? The answer is, that it ought not: for when it is said "all things," good is understood; for all that exists is good inasmuch as it exists. The Devil, as far as he exists, is good. In this respect, there is no such thing as evil, or what is not

* De Divina Psalmodia, 289.

† De Lamartine Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses, Tom. I.

‡ Theologia Germanica, cap. XLVII.

good. But sin is to wish, to desire, or to love something contrary to God, and to wish this is not to exist, therefore it is not good. In brief, nothing is good unless inasmuch as it is in God; but all things, as far as they exist, are in God, and indeed much more than in themselves; therefore all things, as far as they exist, are good. If there were any thing which was not in essence in God it would not be good; and to wish and desire any thing which is against God is not in God, for God cannot wish or desire any thing against God or otherwise than God, therefore that is evil and not good, and also clearly it does not exist *." Let us remark here, that in this manner the desolations introduced by heresy were unable to disturb the possessions of the meek; for all that existed in heresy was good and catholic; its negations corresponding with all evil, did not exist, for they were against God; but all that remained could have been used by Catholics and was used by them: heresy therefore is truly nothing, excepting in the form of speech. St. Anselm pursues the same argument. "Sin and evil," he says, "are said to be nothing; for God made all things, and all things made subsist, and all substance is good in itself. Therefore, what is called evil is nothing but the absence of good: heresy is nothing but the absence of Catholicism, as blindness is the want of sight, and darkness the absence of light †."

This restored harmony between the soul of man and nature, is one of the mysteries of the Catholic religion, respecting which Baader makes divine reflections. "When God the original and positive centre of man dwelt within him, man knew centrally all nature; but since through sin nature has been transposed and materialized, deprived of its primitive spirituality, and that God dwells in man only in an external manner, man no longer knows things centrally but views them from aside, and from a part of the circumference." The effect of faith and meekness consequent upon it, is to restore man to his centre, and to reconcile him with the universal order; for as St. Thomas says of light, that it meets with nothing contrary to it in nature, since darkness is only the absence of it in places to which it has not penetrated,

* Theologia Germanica, cap. XLV.

† S. Anselmi Epist. Lib. II. 8. Elucidarii, Lib. II.

so in nature there is no opposition to God, nor to the will of those who are united to him. The saints, therefore, have a devout love for nature, because it is in the divine order; and they have a human affection for it, because, as Frederick Schlegel says, they can at present perceive in it certain indications, as it were, pointings and winks, which it is impossible to overlook, denoting a sympathy with the desires and hopes of their own hearts. In general nature is only the silent echo and earthly repetition of the divine revelation; and yet it is not without ground and meaning, when it is said in allusion to the great day of universal deliverance, that nature like a groaning creature sighs for it with an unutterable longing *. "Do the elements perceive God?" asks the disciple in the dialogue Elucidarium, ascribed to St. Anselm, to whom the master replies, "God never made any thing which was insensible. For things that are inanimate to us indeed are insensible and dead, but to God all things live and all things perceive their Creator †." Not without reason then may it be affirmed that the meek of faithful ages loved and possessed the joys of nature in all her variety of creatures, of hours, and of seasons. Truly to their perfect spirits sweet was the breath of morn; sweet her rising, with charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun

> "When first on this delightful land he spread
> His orient beams; on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
> Glistening with dew:"———

to them, indeed, the heavens were a ceaseless hymn, and each hour was a morning. The tribe of lowly ones may have left for the silent cloister, raftered halls of state, and the paths to the forest glade where knights were wont to hold their tournaments, yet not the more ceased they to wander where the muses haunt, clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill, smit with the love of sacred song. It is related in an ancient life of St. Maur, from an old manuscript, that St. Babolein, the first abbot of the abbey des Fossés used to recite the Psalms every night on certain great stones in the river Marne ‡. Such was

* Philosophie der Leben, 93. † Lib. I. cap. 5.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. V. 161.

his employment all through the night, while Philomela wept, and renewed her piteous song from bough to bough. Peter the venerable, mentions too, a certain holy Carthusian monk, who used often to spend the night in the open air in order to contemplate the sky and the works of the Creator *. Daniel's fountain near Malmesbury, was so called from the holy Bishop Daniel, who was fond of spending whole nights at its side while singing the praise of God. Gervais, the excellent Archbishop of Rheims, a holy, learned, and prudent prelate, had so loved forest wanderings in his youth, that he placed before the gate of his palace a brazen stag, with an inscription, stating that he did so, in order to be reminded of his native woods. They loved the clear fountains, and the asphodel meadow, and the countless forms and tones of that admirable nature which each returning spring seemed more fair than ever; it filled their eyes with pleasant tears to trace the goodness of their God in these his lower works, and they no longer wondered that the Samaritan woman should have recognised, and confessed the Messiah at the fountain whom the Jewish people knew not in the temple †. What a deep sense of the loveliness of this beautiful earth is shown by the Capuchin friar Lombez, where he reproves the complaints of earthly sadness, and traces expressions of horror for the world to a root of dangerous melancholy ‡. "If," saith he, "amidst so many riches and beauties we are in a hard exile, as we are in fact, the dignity of our souls must be very great, and our true country wondrous fair, and the love of God for us surpassing all conception, since he banishes us to such an admirable world, a place so adorned with all kinds of loveliness §." Even the austere Carthusian order, bred in the ancient forest, the deep stable of wild beasts, rejects not the possession of nature's softer beauties. Witness Calci's holy pile, with its lovely cloister, and its separate gardens, so fair and odoriferous with orange trees and every sweet flower, with its enchanting groves of olives clothing those surrounding Apennines, which

* S. Petri Ven. de Miraculis, Lib. II. c. 29.
† S. Hieronym. Epist. XCV.
‡ Traité de la joie de l'ame.
§ Id. chap. VIII.

are seen through long vistas of arches. The Hexameron of St. Basil, a kind of course on natural history, was preached during the fast of Lent both morning and evening: the scientific part is defective, but one of the greatest modern writers admits that the details are charming. The history of plants and animals gives rise to moral instructions, a common practice of the middle ages, as when those cones of the pine which cover the mountain side, composed of a multitude of grains which are kept in close union by a resinous cement, are said by father Elzear of Archer to be an emblem of religion which consists in the union of many persons connected by charity; or as when father Diego de Stella compares the pleasures of the world to those reeds which when they shoot out first in the spring of the year, do with their fresh green colour delight the eyes for a while, but if you do break them, and look within them, you shall find nothing there but emptiness and hollowness; or again, as when Dante compares the dropping away of earthly pleasures to the fall of the light autumnal leaves,

> "One still another following, till the bough,
> Strews all its honour on the earth beneath;"

or as when Albert the Great shows in his eighth book on animals, that in their instinct we should recognise the divine wisdom, since in whatever degree possessed by some, it is still but the universal instinct, and not greater in one than in another, excepting that it may be more developed in some by certain circumstances. All creatures were objects of their love, so that even the authors of fable conceive a case of one who condemned himself to a voluntary penance for having killed a faithful dog. The multitude of dogs without masters which are found in Lisbon, is attributed to the sensitiveness of the Portuguese, and their unwillingness to deprive any animal unnecessarily of life *.

Monteil, in describing the virtue of the French curates, takes care to show that one point of their charge to rustics and peasants was to be kind to their animals †. He quotes one question in an ancient tract De Institu-

* Letters on Portugal to Orosius, II.

† Hist. des Français, Tom. III. 384.

tione Confessorum, from the chapter concerning husbandmen and rustics, in which the demand occurs "si boves nimis fatigavit unde destruantur." "The sorrows of beasts," says Frederick Schlegel, and he expresses but the sentiments of men in the ages of faith, "are certainly a theme for the meditation of men, and I could not agree to the justice of regarding it as a subject unworthy of reflection, or of permitting sympathy with them to be banished from the human breast *." And yet to plead in behalf of that sympathy would now be often considered an indication of a weak or defective intelligence; and rather would he seem of sound and perfect nature who would be willing to partake of that amusement of the Roman epicures which Seneca describes, of watching the mullet expiring in the channel on the table, in order to observe how its golden and red colours faded, so alive are men to every barbarous joy! The notion of religion as compatible with natural savage cruelty and hardness of heart was unknown in the middle ages. St. Pius V. prohibited the bull-fights as inconsistent with piety.

The monk Frodoard, speaking of St. Remi, in his History of the Church of Rheims, says, that "his sanctity moved not only rational creatures but even tamed those that are without reason, and that one day as he was giving a familiar repast to some intimate friends and rejoicing to see them happy, some sparrows came down and began to eat crumbs out of his hand †;" he relates also that St. Basle, who lived as an anchorite on the mountain near Rheims, having saved a poor beast that had fled from the forest, pursued by a hunter whose dogs seemed to forget all their ferocity on approaching his little cell, it used to be remarked by all hunters in that forest ever afterwards that any beast who could gain the heights in that forest was safe, for that then the dogs would lose their ardour and the hunters their courage ‡. St. Meinrad, the hermit of Einsiedelin, in the ninth century, after the example of St. John the apostle of charity, had tamed two ravens which showed their fidelity at his death, by pursuing his murderers to Zurich with horrible cries, which led to their detection §.

* Philosophie des Lebans.
† Lib. I. cap. xii.
‡ Id. Lib. II. cap. 3.
§ Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik.

The same affection for animals is expressly ascribed to St. Anselm, St. Francis, and many other great servants of God. St. Francis used often to say his canonical hours with the birds, near their leafy houses. St. Bonaventura describes the rapturous joys of contemplative devotion by a divine irradiation in the mind as exerting an influence even externally upon the body, and filling the soul with a desire to embrace every creature of God, sometimes impelling the body to motion, and at others to rest from excess of sweetness. Then whatever the mind beholds it considers it as abounding with a certain divine sweetness *. The master of the sentences declares it to have been the opinion of the holy fathers, that no creature would have been poisonous, or hurtful to man if he had not sinned †. In the ages of faith men believed that the friends of God would be protected from the evil which nature had contracted; they evinced an affection even for inanimate creatures which were not excluded from the sphere of their benevolence. St. Severinus repented having uttered an imprecation on the tree whose branches had wounded him as he hastened to serve a church, and alighting from his horse, he prostrated himself at its roots and besought God to spare it. St. Gregory of Tours, says, that this noble saint used to gather flowers in the season when lilies unfolded their beauteous forms, and that he used to fasten them on the walls of his church ‡. On the external walls of churches, these humble plants were carved in stone, as we read of Melrose.

> "Spreading herbs and flowerets bright,
> Glistened with the dew of night;
> Nor herb, nor floweret glistened there,
> But was carved in the cloister arches as fair."

The holy vestments used in the abbey of Lindesfarne were adorned with figures of the wild animals that lived upon the neighbouring shore. Books of hours used to contain lessons in agriculture attached to the calendar: these appear in the Heures de Rouen in gothic letters and in many others. The miniatures of the eccle-

* Stimul. Divini Amoris, Pars III. cap. 6.
† Petr. Lombard. Sentent. Lib. II. Distinct. 15.
‡ De Gloria Confessorum, 50.

siastical calendar represented the rural labours of each season, which are also sculptured along with the signs of the zodiac on the front of the cathedral of Cremona, built in 1274: and on the brazen gates of Loretto, the rustic youth beholds an image of his own occupations in the noble figure of Adam, breaking the ground in pursuance of the primal sentence. Nor was it only in speculation that nature was enjoyed; the undertakings of men in the middle ages, in favour of material interests, were as arduous as our own, though generally for a nobler end. Dante does not disdain to borrow a similitude from the Flemings, "and their mound 'twixt Ghent and Bruges to chase back the ocean, fearing his tumultuous tide that drives towards them, and from the Paduans and theirs along the Brenta to defend their towns and castles, ere the genial warmth be felt on Chiarentana's top." But mightier tasks than these were accomplished by the Teutonic order in Prussia, of which the greatest was the Cyclopian bank of the grand master Meinhard, in the thirteenth century, between Elbing and Marienburg, to prevent the inundations caused by the Nogat and the Weichsel, by means of which a vast portion of land was reclaimed and made subservient to human wants. During six years thousands of men and thousands of waggons were employed day after day till 1294, when the amazing work was finished. The wanderer in our day stands rivetted with astonishment at the spectacle, and admits that the name of Meinhard must be immortal. "His magnificent works proclaim how excellent he was," says the old chronicle, "for he dared to undertake a thing which other men would not have had courage to imagine *." In ages when the ideal of justice was believed to be St. Louis seated after hearing mass at the foot of an oak in the forest of Vincennes, making his friends sit round him, and then giving audience to all who had business to transact with him, it is not strange that independent of motives of public economy the beauties and interests of nature should have become even an object of legislative care. The wisdom of the middle ages provided by a multitude of minute statutes and practices for the preservation of forests and secured their perpetuity. To protect the

* Voigt. IV. 34.

celebrated pine forest near Ravenna, many sovereign pontiffs issued briefs, testifying the utmost watchfulness in its regard: as in the Virgilian line alluding to the provision of the early Roman laws *, the woods were deemed worthy of consular solicitude. The simple manners which prevailed among all classes of society kept men familiar too with the humble charms of the animal world. The *διῶς ὑφορβὸς* was a personage belonging to our Christian annals. The blessed confessor Paschalis, when a youth, tended the flocks in the fields, and he ever loved that kind of life, as being favourable to the exercise of humility and the preservation of innocence. The occupations of agriculture form part of the work entitled the innocent pleasures by Platina of Rome. The sons of kings used to be familiar with their flocks upon the mountains, beauteous with wild flowers, as the Pass of Storek and the Leitern See, which looks on Engelberg's holy pile. Charlemagne, every morning after mass, used to pass in review the poultry of the lower court. We read of many nobles in the middle ages who believed, as Poggius says, that a country life and the woods, conduce more to the attainment of nobility than cities, and who would have approved of no passage in Cicero's Orations more than that in which he asks, "What cupidity could be in Roscius, who always lived in the country, and was occupied in agriculture,—a life greatly removed from cupidity, and connected with duty †." Men were then subjects, but not citizens,—a term which the modern sophists have adopted, without troubling themselves to reflect upon its meaning. In the heathen time, city-states really existed, as in the Athenian and every similar democracy, where each citizen was in some way settled in the city, and had the right of possessing a house there. Even in Homer's time, every thing that concerned the government of a state was connected with the city, and the military families and the nobles dwelt in it ‡. Hence, it is viewed in Homer as a disgrace or a misfortune for a noble to live among the bondsmen in the country, which was abandoned to labourers of the soil. Hence the distinction between the term an Athenian and inhabitant

* Petrus Crinitus de Honest. Discuss. IV.
† Pro C. Roscio, Amer.
‡ Od. XXIV. 414.

of Attica. Even Plato used the former as a more honourable appellation than the latter, though Müller remarks, that even in Athens there was among the people a constant struggle of feeling between the turbulent working of the democracy and the peaceful inclination to their ancient country life. The Christian state left men free to choose the latter, which religion sanctified, and the term of citizen could thenceforth only be applied in its natural and classical signification, to denote those who had a corporal residence in cities *. The country was no longer left exclusively to the rustic labourers: the priests of holy Church spread themselves over it; the nobles were attached to their ancient forest life; and we read of many who in youth, or in seasons of recollection, from a desire of greater innocence, would have deigned, like Apollo, to dwell beneath the roof of Admetus, mixing with his menial train, driving along his flocks, whether they roved through the winding valley or rested in the upland grove. So clear and powerful is Nature's voice, that even Socrates, after all his arguments to prove the superiority of the city to the country, was no sooner seated peaceably in the cool shade of the plane-tree, on the banks of the Ilissus, than he confessed that he felt the sweet influence of that retreat. "O dear Phædrus," he exclaims, "do I seem to you, as to myself, to be experiencing a divine impression?" and his companion replies, "Truly, O Socrates, contrary to custom, a certain flow of eloquence seems to have borne you away." And he resumes,—"Hear me then in silence; for in fact this place seems to be divine †." This loving familiarity with nature was inseparable from men in whose hearts resided so deep a tone of the eternal melodies; but so also was the conviction which experience had given to St. Augustin, that it was not nature alone, or the beauties and delights of earth, that could ever satisfy the soul of man: "that which it seeks is the true and supreme joy, which, as St. Bernard says, is derived, not from the creature but from the Creator, which, when received, no one can take from it, to which, in comparison, all gladness is affliction, all tranquillity pain,

* An instance is cited by Voigt. Geschichte Preussens. III. 484.

† Plato, Phædrus.

all sweetness bitterness, all that can delight, vexation." The pretended revelations of nature, independent of that tradition by which society exists, are but the empty boast of a vain philosophy. Left in the presence of nature alone, uninformed and unsanctified, man degenerates rapidly into a savage state. Without religious worship, which is the realizing of the abstract idea of the divinity, that idea would soon be effaced from his thoughts; and, as Lord Bacon says, "No light of nature extendeth to declare the will and true worship of God *. However conducive to the physical enjoyments of man, experience shows that a life in the country, without the constant resources of the Catholic religion and its rites, becomes in the end completely a Pagan life, natural in its motives as well as in its pursuits and pleasures. Without an altar, not the shade of the lofty groves, not the soft meadows, not the stream descending from the rocks, and clearer than crystal, winding through the plain, can sanctify the soul of man. Left in the presence of nature alone, it faints and becomes like earth without the dew of heaven; it is oppressed by the contemplation of that vast immensity; it loses its tranquillity and its joy. Man in himself can find no rest or peace: and how should he find repose in the works of nature, when these are themselves for ever restless? The fire mounts in a perpetual course, always flickering and impatient; the air is agitated with conflicting winds, and susceptible of the least impulse; the water hurries on, and knows no peace; and even this ponderous and solid earth, with its rocks and mountains, endures an unceasing process of degradation, and is ever on the change. Besides, how should spirits of human kind find content in nature, when, as the Stagyrite proclaims, nature is in most things only the slave of man †?" But in his Creator has the creature present rest, and in the pledge of grace revealed supernaturally from on high, has he eternal peace, immortal felicity. We must leave the laurels, and the fountains, and the swans, and all the harmonies which resound along the margin of rivers, and we must enter the streets with the multitude, in quest of that temple of peace where the Lamb of God is

* Advancement of Learning.

† Aristot. Metaphysic. Lib. I. 2.

offered up for sinners. Abandoned to nature, the man who is endowed with a delicate and sentimental soul, is found to breathe only the vague desires of the modern poet, whose ideal may be seen in that Burns, of whom we read that "he has no religion; his heart indeed is alive with a trembling adoration, but there is no temple in his understanding: he lives in darkness and in the shadow of doubt: his religion at best is an anxious wish —like that of Rabelais, a great Perhaps *." The error of the modern poets consists in their not viewing the visible world in union with the mysteries of faith, and in supposing that a mere description of its external form can satisfy even the thirst after poetic beauty, which is inherent in our nature. Dante is blamed by them for mixing scholastic theology with his song; but it is precisely this very mixture which gives that charm to it which attracts and captivates the thoughtful heart. The same error is committed with regard to life; and while spirituality and faith, with all their beauteous expressions and sublime affecting symbols, have been effaced, instead of increasing, proud and sensual men have forfeited the possession of the present good. The earth is infected by its inhabitants and its joy is passed away. Observe the character of those cantons of Switzerland where the Catholic religion is unfelt, and men are left in presence of nature alone, without an object or a sound to recall the images of faith. What overpowering melancholy reigns in those valleys, notwithstanding all that dressing, fattening, harrowing, and distillation of the earth, in hopes of gain! What a silence is there, excepting when interrupted by the fall of avalanches, the roar of torrents, and the eternal sighing of the winds! What a moral blight has attended the political demarcation of the territory! There are indeed, here and there, some immense enterprises for the sake of profit and pleasure, some unsightly buildings, the fruit of careful speculations to afford luxury and ease to the distempered inhabitants of licentious cities, who come here in the summer season, in hopes of enjoying some vague dream of Arcadian life, united with the solid advantages of the Epicurean form: but no where do you see the beautiful chapel or the venerable cross; no where any thing to realize a tender

* Edinburgh Review, 1828.

or a sublime idea; no sacred sentences, no devout image, to exalt men to the spiritual life. You pass, as on the borders of those Berne Lakes, whole villages without a church; and upon the sloping lawns you can only hope to find some ruins of a convent, or the tower of some ancient church, which you will find converted into a barn or a magazine. Yet even amidst the devastated valleys, covered with sand and rocks and the bare trunks of broken pines, ploughed up with the rains and burnt by the fire of the summer's day, which now present that pale and horrid aspect of a fearful nakedness, the Catholic religion would have planted her peaceful and her beauteous trophies. That religion has left the stamp of her genius and the imperishable monuments of her faith in the deserts of the East, and on the wildest rock of Alps or Pyrenees, amidst the lions under the fires of the tropic, as well as amidst the bears and icebergs of the pole. Where is there a garden of more rich and beauteous variety than in the very valleys surrounding the tracks over which heresy has passed? Even to the mere poetic soul, what a delightful accompaniment to the silent hymn of nature is that chiming of angelic bells which rises at evening and at noon, and at the sweet hour of prime, from all sides of a Catholic valley?—bells that may well be termed of the angel, that are not rung, as in other lands, by base hands, through love of sordid gain, to celebrate some occasion of sensual joy, temporal and vain, soon to change to mourning as vain, but by pious hands, through the devout intention of inspiring men with thoughts of prayer. How inspiring is it to hear the great bells of the abbey of Engelberg at the fourth hour of the morning, awakening the echoes, amidst the rocks and eternal snows of Titlis, and piercing the vast forests of the surrounding Alp! What consolation to the weary pilgrim, when stopping to shelter from the storm under some covered bank which charity has erected by the mountain's side, he beholds, even there, some poor prints, representing in successive stages, the sacred passion of our Lord, and dictating some seraphic aspiration! How sweet and cheering,—and in a philosophic point of view, how important,—is all this, and how it cherishes and strengthens our young affections! But as the swimmer in the blue flood of the arrowy Rhone sees the pale line of snow-fed waters issu-

ing from the devasted bed of the Arve, and no sooner plies his right arm to be borne up that new channel, and enters its sullen wave, than instantly a sudden cold and deathlike chill strikes through his whole body; so is the full glow of youthful devotion checked and chilled when we pass from Sarnen to the Scheidek, or from Soleure and Freyburg to the shores of the Leman Lake. Protestantism knows no neighbourhood: it goes on repeating its old and barbarous invectives, like those sullen waters of the Arve, which pass down with the Rhone in the same channel without blending into it, without losing their chilling aspect or acquiring the least portion of its warmth or of its purity. And would you know how the loss of the joys of the Catholic faith is felt by those of the moderns themselves, who seem to have a finer and more spiritual nature? Hear these lines, that are enough to make the blood weep from one's heart:—

"Alas! our young affections run to waste,
Or water but the desert; whence arise
The weeds of dark luxuriance, tares of haste
Rank at the core, though tempting to the eyes;
Flowers whose wild odours breathe but agonies,
And trees whose gems are poison; such the plants
Which spring beneath her steps as Passion flies
O'er the world's wilderness, and vainly pants
For some celestial fruit forbidden to our wants *."

The ancients tried all the means which imagination could propose or wealth and power execute, in order to enjoy Nature, and avail themselves of her possession. The Emperor Adrian, after visiting the provinces of his empire, wished to concentrate, at his country villa of Tivoli, whatever had most struck his attention. There he built the Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytanea, as they were at Athens. There he formed the valley of Tempe, like that in Thessaly; there he constructed the Canope, like that near Alexandria. All this was not sufficient: he conceived the design of representing there the Elysian fields: but at this stage he was attacked by the mortal illness of which he died at Baia. The poor insatiate moderns too, in vain attempt to satisfy themselves with the beauty of parks, and the imitation of

* Byron.

nature, in lakes and gardens, interspersed with objects of heathen art and the plants of eastern clime, the cypress and her spire :—

" They show the plants divine and strange
That every hour their blossoms change,
Ten thousand lovely hues !
With budding, fading, faded flowers,
They stand the wonder of the bowers
From morn to evening dews."

Then comes the complaint of Gilbert, lamenting that the hopes of genius, the joy and triumph of nature, should be at an end. " Unhappy guest at the banquet of life, I appear for one day and die ! I die : and on my grave no one will scatter flowers. Farewell, fields that I love ! and thou, sweet verdure ! and thou, smiling solitude of woods ! Sky, beauteous canopy for man ! admirable Nature ! for the last time farewell * !" And even before they learn to contemplate this separation, after all their pains, there is, even amidst these beauteous bowers, the

" Something still that prompts the eternal sigh !"

For, even to the mere poetic imagination, nature alone cannot suffice ; and in Paradise itself, man could not be happy if God or his angels did not visit him. They look around from their fairy halls, and inhale the ambrosial aspect ; but do they not sometimes lament that, when evening sinks o'er the earth, so beautiful and soft, there sounds no deep bell in the distant tower, no faint dying-day hymns steal aloft from cloistered cells, to make the forest leaves seem stirred with prayer ? Their own poet represents his hunter looking from the steep promontory upon the lake, and exclaiming, " What a scene were here, could we but see the turrets of a convent gray on yonder meadow !"—

" For when the midnight moon should lave
Her forehead in the silver wave,
How solemn on the ear would come
The holy matin's distant hum :

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* Ode, written eight days before his death.

While the deep peal's commanding tone
Should wake in yonder islet lone
A sainted hermit from his cell,
To drop a bead with every knell."

Sweet is the breath of morning: but when so sweet as during those early walks between paintings of the sacred Passion, to the first mass of the Capuchins, whose convent crowns the towering rock, or is embosomed in the odoriferous grove?

"The youth of green savannahs spake
And many an endless, endless lake,
With all its fairy crowds
Of islands, that together lie,
As quietly as spots of sky
Among the evening clouds."

Lovely is this painting of your Wordsworth, but would it acquire no fresh charm from thinking of those convents, which might cover them, as in those islands of the Adriatic gulf, seen from the towers of Venice, and from the music of those bells, which would sound along its shore, for the angelus or the benediction? might not the vesper hymn suggest a sweeter image than occurs in the Virgilian line, which speaks of the hour in which begins the first rest of wretched mortals *? Contemplate again the seasons of the year; see what a charm descends upon the enamelled garden, from its reference to the altar; for why, cries the tender poet, "O flowers, raise ye your full chalices to the light of morning, why in the damp shade exhale those first perfumes which the day breathes? Ah, close them still, flowers that I love; guard them for the incense of the holy places, for the ornament of the sanctuary. The sky inundates you with tears, the eye of the morn makes you fruitful; you are the incense of the world, which it sends up to God†." Sweet is it to recline, composed in placid peace, upon the shady lawn, when violet and hyacinth, with rich inlay, embroider the ground, more coloured than with store of costliest emblems, and to hearken to the verse of some wild minstrel, who sings by the clear stream which flows through the meadow, on a summer's day; but sweeter

* Æneid, II. † De la Martine.

still to hear the litanees and hymns of holy church rise from the midst of waving corn, when her annual rogations implore a blessing on the first fruits of the earth, and when the cross and banner of her bright processions glitter through the darksome foliage *. Nor are thy reviving sports, innocent and playful youth, insensible to the universal influence of the church's season. Well I know how dear to the bold swimmer is the plunge into the clear blue flood of the impetuous Rhone, which hurries him along amidst froth and waves, sporting as in a bed of waters, or the fall from those projecting rocks, which stand at the entrance of the Gulf of Lecco, under that noble promontory on which stood the Tragædia of Pliny; but there is to him even a sweeter moment, when winter first departs, and he hastens to the remembered pool, along the embowered banks of the bright stream which first hears the sweet bird that harbingers the spring, and there gathers those budding osiers, which each returning year our mother Church puts into his hands to serve as palms, to be borne on that day of mystic triumph, when she celebrates the entrance of the Son of God into Jerusalem. These are the resources of a northern clime; but yet, methinks, even thy stately forests, noble Valencia, where innumerable old and lofty palm trees shade the shore of Alicant, would lose half their interest to the Christian eye, if their branches were not yearly thinned for that solemn festival, and sent in offering to the eternal city. In a country stripped and dismantled by the modern philosophy, one lives only in visible presence of what passes, like the leaves of the trees, or the flowers of the field; and the youthful race, which is the most susceptible of the charms of nature, like summer flies, is sought for in vain, when autumnal rains have cooled the rivers, and despoiled the bowers of their foliage. Without very extraordinary grace the progress of seasons and of years is felt by the noblest dispositions, which are the most apt for every change, with an

* The benediction of the new fruits of the earth used to be celebrated on the feast of the Ascension, that of orchards on the festival of St. James the Apostle, and that of the new grapes on the day of St. Xystus *.

* Martene, Tom. IV.

emotion of deeper and deeper melancholy; but in a Catholic land one consorts continually with things that never die; and as one grows older, one only feels as if endowed with higher and higher privileges, which are to be crowned at length in the last supernal state, to which death is but the momentary passage.

This mutual influence of nature and faith, multiplying and expressing each other's joys, was profoundly felt by the meek possessors of the earth during the middle ages, and hence arose a number of beautiful monuments, the mouldering ruins of which still adorn our country, though their origin and object may have been long forgotten. Historians record the profusion of oratories which were destroyed in England when the new religion was first established. These little chapels, embowered amidst the pale ivy or the myrtles that love the shore, were common in the days when above all things the woods were dear to men, and the divine muse was beloved everywhere, found to be sweet amidst the woods, and sweet upon the waves, combining all the fabled charms of Orpheus and Arion. Petrarch beautifully moralizes upon the fountain of Vaucluse, and declares that it is his resolution to raise an altar there in the garden which hangs over the water. "It shall not," he continues, "be dedicated, like those of Seneca, to the gods of the rivers, or the nymphs of the fountains, but in honour of the Virgin Mother of that God who has destroyed the altars and demolished the temples of all other gods." The month of May was called the month of Mary, when men would devoutly repeat her office as they walked in some garden, bright with the sweet hue of eastern sapphire that was spread over the serene aspect of the pure air, at the rising of the sun, and beheld the swans majestically resting on the limpid waters. The waters too were claimed, and images of saints and hermits, and mitred fathers, were seen, stretching the hand of benediction over them, as at the Balbian promontory on the Lariun lake. The course across the Lagunes, for eighteen miles from Venice to the Camaldolese convent on the isle of St. Clement, is marked by an image of our Lady, with a lamp burning, which seems almost to touch the sea, over which it casts so far its placid beam. In the midst of the lake of Garda is a point, mentioned by Dante, where the bishops of Trent, Verona, and Brescia, would have the right of

giving their benediction; and I have heard the sweet and solemn sound of litanee or sacred hymns rise from boats of pilgrims, bearing cross and holy banners, across Lugano's lake, when boat used to respond to boat while onward hastening.

Wherever a wild and broken rock projected, or a beauteous hill rose from a river's bank, there was sure to be some spot dear to piety, which scholars and poets would unite to celebrate, like that of Mount Valerian on the Seine, which forms the subject of an elegant Latin history by Briezac. As the morning sun first visits the mountain heights, so does the great and admirable sun of justice make his grace to shine first at the door of the solitary hermit, and of those who live retired upon the points of rocks. When St. Vincent of Paul was ordained priest, he repaired to a chapel situated on a mountain in the midst of a wood, near the river Tarne, and there he said his first mass. The presbytery of St. Vit of Mont-Meillan, being on the side of a hill, commanded a most beautiful view over the country. The curate, in the year 1695, thought this garden was too beautiful to be left without rendering service to religion. Accordingly he had the piety to convert it into a Calvary, with grottos and cells for prayer; so that a crowd of devout people used to come there on Sundays and festivals from the neighbouring parishes*. Marchangy makes his traveller of the fourteenth century remark, that as he mounted the heights of Fourvières at Lyons, the view became so enchanting, that he was almost certain to find at the summit of the mountain some place of pilgrimage. "For I have remarked," he adds, "in the course of my travels that religion never fails to invite tender or suffering souls to places, whose natural beauty attests the power of the Creator†." The fields and level shores were, indeed, associated with religious mysteries: for, that standing of Jesus by the lake of Genesareth when the multitude pressed upon him, that seeing of the two boats and the occupation of the fishermen, that walk through the corn with the disciples on the Sabbath, of which men had heard from infancy always in the same sweet season of

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. V. 544.
† Tristan, Tom. V. 333.

the summer *, made such an impression, that they could never enjoy the beauties of nature, or the recreations of a country life without thinking of their blessed Redeemer; but mountains were especially dear to religion from the remembrance of that mount whose name has given an universal and beloved fame to the pale verdure of the olive, from that of Thabor, and Sinai, and Ephreim, which fed the holy Samuel. It was on mountains that God manifested himself to the Hebrews of old, and it was on them that the tremendous mysteries of human redemption were accomplished. Mountain heights, enclosing on their brown and mossy moors the spot where earliest wild flowers grow, were dear to village children, but so were they also to the eye of faith, as symbolical of a religious life; for mountains are the abodes of the most noble animals, the lion and the eagle; the source of the mightiest and purest streams; the soil congenial to the loftiest trees, the cedar and the pine; the places most secure to helpless innocence, in consequence of their distance from the haunts of men; the spots which are the first and last to enjoy the golden light of day, and which afford the farthest prospect over this world of woe †. During the ages of faith in reference to the holy enclosures on their summits, it might with truth be said, that the mountains distilled sweetness, and the hills flowed with milk and honey; for there was heard at many seasons of every year a voice of the multitude on the mountains, as if of a people gathering, a voice of the sound of kings and of the nations assembling. Then used each man to say joyfully to his neighbour, "Come, and let us ascend to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths; because a law hath gone forth from Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

The blessed John of the Cross distinguishes three kinds of holy places, that is, places where God is accustomed to excite the will to devotion. The first are certain spots rendered agreeable by the extensiveness and

* Fourth Sund. after Pentecost.

† Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet ou le Paradis de la Religion du Seraphique Pere St. Français, p. 10.

variety of the view, by the verdure of trees and plants, by solitude and silence. The end in employing such places is to elevate the heart to God. Almost every Christian city, and even village, was adorned and consoled by some place of this kind, on which a Calvary was erected, where devout persons went at all times to pray; and where at intervals, as on the festivals of the holy cross in May and in September, the whole population would assemble then in peaceful pilgrimage, to assist at the divine offices celebrated in an adjoining chapel, and to hear some man of God discourse upon the love of Jesus. Such was the Mont Valerien near the city of Paris, where hermits had resided since the eleventh century, whose sweet solitude even kings protected, for in the year 1633 there was a royal decree forbidding any one to keep a hostelerie upon that mountain nearer than the village of Surêne *. In the house of the missionaries on the summit, it was the custom to admit laymen who desired to make retreats. The Cardinal de Noailles came there every year for that purpose, and the Cardinal Boromeo used in like manner to retire to the Calvary on Monte Varale, where were represented the mysteries of the Passion. Here were fields of roses, which embalmed the air with their sweet fragrance; and when the multitude assembled, such peace and joy beamed from every countenance, that one might have thought that the reign of universal order was already come. One of the first acts of the sophists who wrought the last revolution, was to throw down the crosses and desecrate the sanctuary, that all men might know them by their fruits. The second kind, continues the blessed Friar, are particular places, whether solitary or not, in which God is known to have had extraordinary intercourse with just men, thither sending his winged messengers on errands of supernal grace, so that these persons continue ever after attached to them, though it is not the place but the soul which draws down the grace of God. Thus Abraham raised an altar on the spot where God had appeared to him; and in passing by it on his return from Egypt, he again worshipped there; and Jacob also made an altar of stone in the place where the Lord appeared to him. Such are the famous church of the Portiuncula and the

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. VII. 129.

seraphic mountain of Alvernia in Italy, exhibiting those wonderously split rocks, which a pious tradition ascribes to the earthquake at the death of Christ, and clothed with that deep and solemn wood, which so often beheld the secret wanderings and heard the infinite sighs of the fervent servants of God, Francis and Anthony, where the former, while praying at day-break on its rocky side, received the stigmata which his limbs two years did carry. Such, too, is that high mountain called Cruachan Ailge, in Ireland, so memorable for having been the place where St. Patrick spent a Lent in great abstinence and solitary meditation. The places where hermits had lived or where holy men used to preach, were often called ever afterwards the holy place. Thus, in the diocese of Paris, there is a lieu-saint, so called from St. Quentin having lived there a recluse. There is another lieu-saint in the diocese of Coutances near Valogne, where holy solitaries lived under the first race of kings. In Germany there is Heiligenstad, where Dagobert I. had a vision of saints *. That tower of Ader, where St. Jerome says the angel appeared to the shepherds that were watching their flocks by night would be a place of the same order. The third kind of places are those which God has destined, by an especial choice, for his service. Such were Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb †. The Carmelite friar Nicholas, who describes his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1487, visited these holy mountains, to which he could travel only by night, through the midst of horrible deserts. Arriving at length within view of the convent of St. Catharine, he says that every one wept for joy. The monks received them with great charity, but the pilgrims were only disposed for prayer. After mass matins were sung, after which every one retired to rest for the remainder of the day. The pilgrims disposed themselves to visit the holy places of the mountain by confession and devout prayer. On Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb, he says, there were many holy chapels to honour the spots which are consecrated by events of the sacred history. He describes his ascent and the views from the summit, and no book of modern

* Lebeuf, Tom. XIII. 168.

† B. John of the Cross, ascent of Mount Carmel, Lib. III. c. 41.

travels will convey the same impression of reality as this holy man's simple relation. In few words he makes you behold the two mountains of Sinai and Horeb, and the holy places and the dreadful wilderness, and the Red Sea with its desert islands and the horrible mountains of Thebaid *. The moderns have lost the idea of holy places, and are often disposed to condemn and ridicule those who have retained it. Had they been with Moses upon Horeb, they would have imagined some figure that would dispense their making bare the feet. Let us pause a moment, therefore, to hear the sentiments of men in ages of faith respecting the origin and influence of that idea. In the first place, they needed not the discourse of Milton to teach them as a general precept,

> —— "that God attributes to place
> No sanctity, if none be thither brought
> By men who there frequent, or therein dwell †."

This was a Catholic maxim, which he had gathered, as many things besides, from the writings of the olden time. St. Bernard had said, "Let no one flatter or congratulate himself respecting a place, because it is said, this place is holy, non enim locus homines, sed homines locum sanctificant;" to which words the pilgrim brother Nicholas alludes, saying, "Le canon dit, l'homme fait le sainct lieu, et non le lieu fait la saincte personne ‡." "Neither do holy places," says Walafried Strabo, abbot of Fulda, "profit those who lay aside holiness, nor do horrid places injure those who are protected by the grace of God. The angels fell in heaven, whereas Moses was preserved in the waters; Daniel among the lions, and the three children in the fire §." St. Peter the venerable, abbot of Cluni, writing to the monks of Mount Thabor, exhorting them to be especially devout and fervent, from the consideration, not only of their being Christians and monks, but also because they inhabit a holy place, desires them to remember well that a holy place can never save them ||. "As for these places of pilgrimage, and

* Le grant voyage de Hierusalem, Paris, 1517.
† Paradise Lost, XI.
‡ Le grant voyage à Hierusalem, f. CVIII.
§ De rebus Ecclesiasticis, cap. XIII.
|| Epist. Lib. II. 44.

the extraordinary graces which are vouchsafed to those who visit them," says the blessed John of the Cross, "the reason of their existence is to give occasion for more ardent fervour and opportunity for men to awaken their piety. It is for this end that miracles are wrought in those places where the faithful assemble to offer up their vows to heaven, in sight of the sacred images. Their faith in God, their confidence in his goodness, their singular devotion for the saints whom these celebrated images represent, and their continual prayers, sustained by the intercession of the blessed, obtain from God these extraordinary prodigies, of which the whole glory returns to the Creator. We find that these operations generally occur in places where the painting or image is some simple and common work, and where the place itself is retired and solitary, far from the haunts of men, where simplicity and faith alone are favoured, where the length and difficulty of the journey may prove the devotion of the heart, and where the solitude of the place itself may deliver the pilgrims from the noise of the world, and favour their devotion, as when our Lord withdrew to deserts and to mountains for his prayer *." The zeal with which such places were visited by the early Christians may be learned from St. Augustin, where he says, "Brethren, recall to mind how, on any festival of the martyrs, when any holy place is named for any certain day, the crowds flow in together, to celebrate the solemnity. How they excite one another; how they encourage one another, and say, Let us go; let us go; and when it is asked whither? they reply to such a place, to such a holy place: they talk together, and as if catching fire from one another, they kindle into one flame, which impels them to that holy place which saintly meditation points out to them. Such is the holy love which makes men visit temporal places of sanctity. What then ought to be their ardour in hastening to heaven †." If men would only observe what passes within themselves with regard to human things, they might learn to understand the principle of devotion to holy places, with regard to God: for instance, they esteem one chapter of a favourite book more highly than the rest,

* Ascent of Mount Carmel, Lib. III. c. 35.

† Tractat. in Ps. cxxi.

because they remember having read it in presence of a friend who is now absent. If they have executed any work of art while conversing with him, they prize it more than all others on that account. What intense and subtle feeling connects itself with the most trifling circumstance which has any relation to the earthly affections of the heart! and so it is with those who love God in his saints. Their habits, the staff they used to bear, the chamber they used to inhabit, the rock on which they used to pray, the well from which they drank, the sepulchre where they repose, become precious and venerable and holy.

From St. Gregory of Tours we can learn the usual mode in which such places were visited, for he says, "On one occasion, as I was going about the city of Lyons to visit the holy places, the man who walked before us coming to the crypt of the blessed Helius, invited us to pray, saying, because a great priest rests in this place*." Cold ungrateful men may argue or contemn, but reason will admit the wisdom of a devotion which is founded in the deepest principles of our nature. Ah, why are men so undoubting and resolute to admit an excuse for omitting the memory of God; why so backward and forbidding, so full of scepticism and difficulties, when an occasion is offered of invoking him? Never can I lose the remembrance of that evening of sweet peace, when with the holy monks of Vallombrosa I went the round of all their blessed spots, sanctified by the wondrous life and blissful death of the ancient eremites of that cloister, when the narrow cell which had sheltered one, the rocky bed on which another had expired, and every other revered memorial was visited with solemn litanee or hymn to Christ's blessed mother, or offering of glory for everlasting to the triune God. Thus did we ascend that mount of Paradise, when each step they invited me, thoughtless and obdurate, to turn from nature unto nature's God. To Vallombrosa one repairs with recollections that centre upon the poesy of Milton, and from it one returns with a mind refreshed, exalted, enraptured with a sense of that supernal music which can be known fully but where day endless shines. By the erection of stations in some retired spot, in the

* De gloria Confessorum, 62.

neighbourhood of every town, the church proposed to multiply places which, by the representation of our blessed Saviour's sufferings, might move the hearts of her children to greater fervour, and serve as a perpetual instruction to the ignorant: and in connection with the great historical facts and awful mysteries of religion, these affecting memorials of piety contributed to the riches which the earth was found to yield to the meek in ages of faith. What was the idea of their institution? at Jerusalem was their original. There tradition has preserved even many circumstances of the passion, which are not related in the Gospel. The spot is shown where Mary met Jesus bearing the cross; driven away by the guards, she took another road, and was found again further on, following the Saviour. It is Chateaubriand who thus speaks: "Faith is not opposed to these traditions, which show to what a degree this wondrous and sublime history has been engraven on the memory of men. Eighteen centuries passed over, persecutions without end, unceasing revolutions, ruins piled up and still ever increasing, have not been able to efface or conceal the trace of this divine mother weeping for her son!" The Church was well aware of the impressions felt by those who visited these stations, and with her constant tender solicitude she endeavoured to provide the same for all her children. Every town and village, therefore, furnished places where, in some degree, they might be experienced by those who had a devout heart and sincere contrition. There, after the business of the day was over, when the angelus had tolled and the hour came when nature makes that awful pause and inclines the soul to meditation, the pious youth or holy matron would steal softly from the crowd and repair thither, to shed the sweet undiscovered tear on the Mount of Olives, on the spot where Pilate cried Ecce Homo! on the place where our Saviour sank under the cross, on that where he said unto the women, Weep not for me, and so on the rest. At Rome these were represented in the Colosseum, within that very inclosure where such multitudes of martyrs had followed Christ to the bitterness of his passion. On certain days the clergy, followed by a devout multitude, visited these places in procession, sung the litanee, recited prayers, and delivered a short instruction. Nor was this all. Innumerable crosses of

stone or wood were erected by the public ways, in the heart of forests and amidst the wildest scenes of nature, on bridges, which heard amidst the eternal murmur of the streams, the chaunt of nocturns in the night, and on the craggy summit of islands, that lay far in the melancholy sea; that no place might be left without the symbol of human redemption, and the memorial of the passion of Jesus. Descending from the mountain of St. Bernard, under that fort of Bard, in a spot which seems made by Nature herself for the destruction of an army, and where modern art now vies with her in appalling frowns, with what delightful surprise does one discover the peaceful images of heaven's mercy, the Madonna and the cross! Time was when England too possessed them. In the vast fens surrounding Crowland, we read of there being immense crosses placed, as on the boundaries between Holland and Kesteven, Alderlound and Goggisland *. In the ancient groves, too, which never heard the woodman's stroke, amidst the giant trunks' projecting withered arms, like that forest which clothes the shore of Bolsena's Lake, through which the pilgrim mounts to Montefiascone, you would find the cross to sanctify the melancholy shade. Thus we read in the books of chivalrous fable, how the knight errants used to hang up their shields by the stone crosses in the forests. In poetry, as in nature, we sometimes come upon them suddenly with glad surprise. How impressive is that instance, amidst a battle-scene, in the lay of Marmion, when Clare looks round for water to slake his dying thirst as he lay wounded on the wild heath, near a stone cross:

> "Where shall she turn? Behold her mark,
> A little fountain-cell,
> Where water, clear as diamond spark,
> In a stone basin fell;
> Above, some half-worn letters say,
> Drink, weary pilgrim, drink and pray
> For the poor soul of Sybil Gray,
> Who built this cross and well."

Frequently, too, these were memorials also of historical

* Hist. Croylandensis in Rerum Anglic. Script. Tom. I. and Ingulphi Hist. p. 39.

events, to which piety gave an immortal remembrance, as at Ravenna, near which a simple Greek cross indicates the spot where formerly stood the superb basilica of St. Lorenzo, founded in the year 396, and destroyed in the sixteenth century. King Philip, carrying the body of St. Louis, his father, from Paris to the abbey of St. Denis, wherever he halted to repose crosses were erected on the spot, which stood till the revolution. On the similar occasion of the body of Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I., being conducted from the north to Westminster, those beautiful crosses were erected, of which the ruins may still be seen at Waltham and other places. At Rievaulx Abbey, when the body of St. Wilfred had been washed, and the water then poured out upon the earth, a wooden cross was erected on the spot.

The first amongst the Christians who opposed the worship of the cross was Claudius, a Spaniard, in the ninth century, and in the same age the Paulicians, who appeared in the East. The Wickliffites called the images of the cross putrid trunks, less estimable than the trees of the wood, for the latter, said they, had life, but these were dead, a passage which shows how profoundly these first reformers could philosophize. The succeeding hereticks were animated with a most invincible hatred against the crosses, so that they disappeared every where before them, while statues of kings, in the heathen style, were erected in their stead, as at Charing Cross, the demolition of which was effected amidst loud cheers from an immense multitude. Yet such was the inconsistency of these men, who mistrusted or condemned the impression produced by the representation of the cross of Christ, that some of them were heard to say, that they could never hear the loud solitary whistle of the curlew in a summer noon, or the wild cadence of a troop of grey plover in an autumn morning, without feeling an elevation of soul, like the enthusiasm of devotion. Our forefathers, too, may have known nothing, or next to nothing, of the structure of their souls, but yet they could give a reasonable account for their attaching more importance to the impressions which they felt at the sight of a cross, than to any of the seeming caprices of their nature. "The mere sight of a crucifix is never useless to the soul," says Louis of Blois, speaking of

the spiritual ascetic *. "A Christian of orthodox faith," he says again, "can never behold the image of a crucified Redeemer, without great utility †." "The moderns are not unwilling to kiss the books of the Gospels before a judge," observes Bossuet, "and what is the cross but the whole Gospels in one sign and character contracted? What is the cross, unless the whole science of Jesus Christ crucified? Why then should we not kiss that and bow the knee to it?" Does not the very instinctive aversion with which it is regarded by all enemies to Christianity prove it to be holy? What other inference can be drawn from those late horrors in Gallic land, where the symbol of salvation was overthrown with such demoniacal ferocity, and replaced by the symbol of the revolution, by that of Atheism? The moral influence of the Christian symbol was so clearly seen by its enemies, that among the articles of capitulation to be observed by the Christians on the fall of Jerusalem, the Turks stipulated that they should place no crosses upon their churches, nor bear them or the Gospels about in procession, and that their bells should not be tolled, though they might be allowed to observe their religious rites in all the churches already built. Elsewhere, indeed, the same enactments, with the exception of the latter indulgence, were enforced by men who continued to profess a belief in Christianity; but the results proved the acuteness of the Sarassin policy, and the folly of those who, with different intentions, imitated it. By degrees, the race which had lost faith lost also the memory of Christianity; its thoughts were wholly engrossed with business or political debates, or with the delusive phantoms of sense; if it heard mention of God having come down on earth, chosen apostles, and sent them to found a religion, the impressions excited were not different from those with which it read the history of Romulus or Alexander. Now one can easily understand why, in a Catholic country, such a godless crew should feel startled and disquieted; for there men may indeed fall victims to passion, may aspire to rob or remain tangled in a net of sensual delight, but never for a single day can they forget the great and

* Institutio Spiritual. cap. VI.

† Enchirid. Parvulorum, Lib. I. doc. XII. append.

awful facts of the Christian dispensation. Faith has raised too many memorials of its history and of its mysteries for their minds, to be ever reduced to a state of nature or mere animal perception, that is left without either the consolations or the terrors of religion.

Thus, then, during ages of faith, was nature enjoyed in connection with religion, by those to whom meekness imparted the privileges of simplicity. Thus was the exterior and interior life brought into perfect harmony, so as to produce that expansion of the heart which is the real cause that makes a Catholic country so delightful to men of good will; for so sweet is it to them, that "they whose verse of yore the golden age recorded, and its bliss on the Parnassian mountain," may be thought to have foreseen it in a dream. The earth was adorned with beauteous monuments, and the luminous air itself seemed to diffuse sweet harmony, not alone those wild and melancholy strains of which the poet speaks as heard in Scottish land, rising from the bands of busy harvest,

> "When falls before the mountaineer,
> On lowland plains, the ripen'd ear;"

but oftener, as in the neighbourhood of Rome when peasants in the evening return from the vintage, some litanee or sacred hymn, for even festive songs, like those of that devout people, had in some manner still a religious burden. The author of the Martyrs ascribes this custom of pious ejaculations and responses by the rustic labourers to the first Christians, and traces it to the days of Ruth *. In the time of St. Jerome, the labourers in Palestine conducting their carts, and the husbandmen in dressing their vines, used to refresh their spirits with the chaunt of Alleluia, and the presence of Christian youth was recognised by hearing the shepherds and peasants singing canticles of devotion by the side of their flocks, a scene which then recalled the primitive innocence of the pastoral life of the ancient patriarchs. The old French kings endeavoured to promote this custom by their paternal ordinances, which said, "Let all sing on the Sabbath, going to vespers, or to matins,

* Lib. II.

or to mass, chaunting Kyrie Eleison ; and in like manner let the herdsmen of cattle sing as they go into the fields or return to the house, ut omnes eos veraciter Christianos et devotos esse cognoscant *." Wandering among the olive groves of Fiesole, I have heard children in cottages chaunting the Kyrie Eleison, while mothers at the doors handled the distaff and the flax. The very reverence with which the humble friar and the village pastor were regarded was a source of social and serene enjoyment to the people among whom they walked. Their sweet and holy countenances were felt as a benediction, in the same manner as the entrance of the unblessed feet of modern sophists is always felt as an interruption to joy, though these are the men who have the confidence to speak of applying their moral energies to the gradual extinction of Catholicism, and the consequent increase of social enjoyment, " as if," cries an excellent writer, " men who are themselves incapable of social enjoyment, their principles being a condensation of selfishness and repugnant to all sociability, their rudeness, and even ferocity of look and manner, being sufficient to enable travellers to recognise them in any place, could increase or secure social enjoyment in others." In short, the meek felt themselves in every object that struck their senses, and at every hour of their existence, endowed with hidden riches, and in possession of an innocent and a happy earth. If they had lived more years than Abraham, they would not have had time to use this long series of sanctified pleasures and natural enjoyments which life distilled, drop by drop, sweetly and secretly upon their lips. Thus " through a wilderness of primy sweets that never fade they walked in thoughtfulness, and yet expectant of beatitude more high."

So far we have considered the blessedness of the meek in relation to the material advantages which could be drawn from the possession of the earth. It remains to take a brief view of the more spiritual and interior riches which were attached to that inheritance, and the attempt to show in what manner it became subservient to the extension of intellectual good will be the object of our next disputation.

* Capit. Carol. mag. 202. Lib. VI.

CHAPTER IV.

It is the object of our enterprise to discover in what manner the meek, in ages of faith, availed themselves of the intellectual treasures which the earth is capable of yielding, and for this purpose we must direct our thoughts to those spiritual and interior riches which are derived from poetry, from learning, and from friendship, for it is clear that, in one sense, these rise to mortals from the earth, and are an essential part of its inheritance. Of themselves, too plainly imperfect, and liable, as experience proves, to the most lamentable abuse, we shall find that they were ennobled, perfected, and secured by an alliance with the principles of faith, which gave purity to their object and stability to their possession. Poetry was perhaps one of the original gifts which the bountiful Creator attached to the present condition of man's life, in order to enable him to sustain the wretchedness of his exile. Philosophers observe that the sensible world, being inferior in dignity to the rational soul, poesy seems to grant that to human nature which history denies, supplying shadows in place of substance to the mind; and Lord Bacon says that if any one should examine attentively, a firm argument is derived from poesy that there is a more illustrious and perfect order of things than can in any manner be found in Nature herself after the fall; therefore, as realities cannot satisfy the mind, poesy feigns actions more heroic; it corrects history, and therefore conferreth not only to delectation but to magnanimity *. Pindar had remarked that truly there are many things wonderful, and that legends adorned with varied fables lead away the minds of mortals more than a true discourse †." Yet if attention be paid to the original source of all poetic fable, there is deeper penetration shown by Homer, where he invokes the muses as divinities who alone know all things, and then adds, but we hear only rumours and know nothing:

* De Augment. Scientiæ, Lib. II. c. 13.

† Olymp. I.

"ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν *."

"Fancy itself," as Frederick Schlegel observes, "is one of the essential groundworks of consciousness. It is in its foundation nothing but memory; and what we commonly call fancy is in fact only a delirium of the memory †." True art and all higher poetry, is the beautifully adorned summit, the promising blossom, nay, the very flower of hope ‡. "And man," as he says, "from childhood to youth, from youth to manhood, from manhood to death, is, above all other creatures, a being of hope §." The same view is taken by Huet, in accounting for the disposition of men to love romance: "It arises," he says, "from the faculties of the human soul, which, being too vast in capacity to be satisfied with any present object, seeks gratification from the past and the future, from truth and fiction ||." St. Augustin had said that those fictions which are significative and emblematical are not falsehoods, but figures of truth, of which some of the wisest and most holy men have availed themselves, and we find the same doctrine well explained and diffused in the middle ages, in proof of which we may witness the words of John of Salisbury, where he says that "the lies of the poets serve truth ¶;" and those of Christine de Pisan, where she says, "although in general the name of poesy be taken for some fiction, and though it is a common saying, Les poètes mentent de moult de choses, yet the end of poetry is truth, to advance which these feigned images are formed, enveloping the real and occult sense **." Indeed, such has been the universal judgment of mankind. The Persians, who had such a reverence for truth, and who regarded every species of lie with such horror, were nevertheless peculiarly fond of works of ingenious fiction, and many of their books of instruction for youth were in the form of romances. Their legislator Zoroaster employed fabulous adventures for this object. Strabo says that their masters of youth gave their pre-

* Il. II. 465.
† Philosophie der Sprache, 136.
‡ Id. 190.
§ Id. 125.
|| Huet, De l'Origine des Romans.
¶ De Nugis Curialium, Lib. II. cap. 6.
** Livre des Fais et bonnes Mœurs du sage Roi Charles V. Liv. III. chap. 68.

cepts of morality in tales and fictions. Seneca observes that the ancient Romans made frequent use of fabulous adventures for the purposes of instruction; and Macrobius reckons works of the nature of romances among those which administered instruction with delight. In the middle ages the title Romant was applied to true histories, as to that of Du Guesclin,' for it signifies any work which was written in the langue Romane; but it was at length applied exclusively to those works which, as Huet observes, were true in their details, and false only in their general object, which differed from many of the ancient historians only on this account, that they were false in their details, though faithful in their general outline. After all, romances in this sense had their origin in the beautiful East, and they were allied to those parables which have the highest of all sanctions. Huet supposes the Egyptians, Arabians, Persians, Indians, and Syrians, to have been the first writers of romances, and he shows that the great authors of antiquity, who composed romances, were all of oriental origin *. Aristotle, and after him Cornutus and Priscien, mention the Libyan fables. The Arabs brought their romantic poetry into Spain; but their dominion, during the first period, so far from assisting, kept down and stifled the genius of that people, and by imposing the Arabic tongue, put off the rise of the Spanish literature, so that Italy, Provence, and even Normandy, had their poets and writers in the language of their country before Spain had produced any. A Spanish bishop complains, that while his people can write verses in Arabic, they cannot say their prayers in Latin, by which he meant the Spanish in its infant state. In the hands, however, of the ecclesiastical and chivalrous writers, the object of romance became, in the middle ages, still more under the influence of idealism and allegory. Josaphat, Percival, Arthur, Wigalois, and Tschionatulander, were mystical personifications of sanctity and knighthood. According to the doctrine of Boethius in his Consolatio Philosophica, the ideal was represented as a person, and the Germans are delighted to find, in the middle ages, poets of their nation who professedly pursued this object, such as Konrad of Wurzburg, Peter Suchen-

* De l'Origine des Romans, 13.

wirt, Henry Muglin, Hadamar von Laber, Hermann of Sachsenheim, and Melchior Pfinzing.

Nothing is more easy than to collect passages condemning poetry from the writings of the holy fathers, and nothing simpler than to arrange and connect them in such a manner as to convey the idea of a final and absolute prohibition, when men have taken in hand to write a formal treatise against it, or to show the danger of its abuse: but whether Religion might avail herself of the assistance of poetry, and include that beautiful world in the promise which gave to meekness the possession of the earth, was at no time, as the lives and writings of the holy fathers prove, made a question virtually in the Christian schools; while the splendid triumph which the eighth Clement had prepared for Tasso at the capitol, left a positive and ever-memorable testimony that the love of poetry is not incompatible with supreme solicitude for the first and highest good. Repeatedly, during the ages of faith, the holy bishops of the Church, by their instructions and by their example, sanctioned its diffusion, and allowed men to mix serious things with trifles, and false with true, "in order," as John of Salisbury says, "that all things might be referred expressly to the worship of the highest truth *." So that, as at the beleaguered city sung by Æschylus, at whose seventh gate royal Apollo took his awful stand †, the purified and innocent Muse was permitted to appear as the champion on one side of the city of the church, that city which is besieged at all times by proud and deluded men. Celebrated was the ingenuity evinced by the Christian pastors in the time of Julian, when they contrived to elude the decree of that emperor, who sought to deprive their youth of the advantages of an acquaintance with the great poets of antiquity. The Greek tragedy entitled the Passion of Christ, composed of verses taken from Sophocles and Euripides, whose chorusses are converted into Christian hymns, is said to have been formed by St. Gregory Nazianzen on this occasion, when the Christians were forbidden to study the original classical writings. This tragedy has been

* De Nugis Curialium, in Lib. VII. Prolog.

† Æschyl. Sept. cont. Theb.

lately consulted with success, in order to correct the present texts of Euripides. Not without surprise will some hear mention of a German nun, Hroswithe, in the eleventh century, who, merely through a sense of the beauties of the classical writers, adopted a similar expedient, and composed Latin dramatic pieces upon Christian subjects, in a style well imitated from that of Terence. Christianity has always had its poets, under the white robes of the Apollinares in the first age, as under the episcopal mantle of Fenelon after the lapse of eighteen centuries. Ecclesiastical history makes frequent mention of bishops, like Sidonius in the fifth age, who cultivated the Muse, and associated it with their apostolical labours, not disdaining to hearken sometimes to the ancient classic bards, but as Dante, when he followed the souls of Statius and Virgil,

> "Listening that speech, which to their thoughts convey'd
> Mysterious lessons of sweet poesy *."

St. Cyprian of Carthage, Pope St. Damasus I. Paulinus Bishop of Nola, Victorinus, Fortunatus, and Hilary of Poictiers, Prosper of Aquitaine, and St. Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, are illustrious examples; to which may be added priests not invested with the episcopal character, as Tertullian of Carthage, Lactantius Juvencus of Spain, Cælius Sedulius of Ireland, Arator of Rome, and Claudian Mamertus of Vienne †. The subjects chosen by Paulinus are the death of the son of Celsus, the turbulent condition of his own times and trust in God, the ancient festivals of the church, newness of life, and the creation of man. Many of the little pieces of St. Fortunatus were addressed to St. Radegonde or to St. Agnes. One was "on some violets," another "on some flowers which were placed on the altar." He composed many fine sacred hymns, among which the Vexilla Regis has been adopted by the Church. The oldest monument of German literature is an epic poem relating the slaughter of Roncevalles composed by a priest Conrad. The romances of Barlaam and Josa-

* Purg. XXII.

† Fabricius, Poetarum Vet. Eccles. Opera.

phat, published in the thirteenth century, by Rudolf of Montfort, had been composed by St. John Damascenus; it treats of the love of God and the heroism of the martyrs. It was greatly admired by the Christians of Egypt, being translated into the Coptic tongue. Eustathius, Bishop of Thessalonica, about the middle of the twelfth century, was said to have composed a romance, though it was one unworthy of his genius. The Count of Stolberg might have appealed to the authority of Huet, who also is inclined to disbelieve the report of Nicephorus that Heliodorus had been deposed by a council for having composed the adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea, and the latter grounds his argument on the purity and virtue of the work itself *. That learned and holy prelate, Camus, Bishop of Belley, as well as the great St. Francis de Sales, spoke in terms of high admiration of the romance of Astrea. Fenelon may be said to have composed both a poem and a romance in the adventures of Telemachus, as also Æneas Silvius before succeeding to the apostolic chair, though in one of his letters this learned Pope expresses bitter regret for having left such a production among his works. Octavien de Saint Gelais, Bishop of Angouleme, was regarded as one of the greatest poets of his time. He saw the reigns of Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I. He gave translations of the Greek and Latin poets, of the whole Æneid, and of many books of the Odyssey, yet, from the tone of some of his early poems, perhaps Dante would have found him in the number of those who wept. On being invested with the episcopal character, he indeed abandoned all former amusements, and gave himself up wholly to the study of holy things, and to the service of the church, but still on the death of King Charles VIII. whose body he followed to St. Denis, he testified his regrets in many verses which were afterwards published in the Vergier d'Honneur. Our great St. Dunstan was both a poet and musician, whose works no purifying flame need have feared, and the Scottish minstrel who has sung the Lady of the Lake alludes to the harp which erst Saint Modan sway'd †. St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Shireburn, cultivated poetry with such success even in his native tongue, that it was said no one could equal him in the composition of

* De l'Origine des Romans, 70. † II.

English verses. Eldred mentions a certain poem of his which the common people continued still to sing; for when this blessed man led a hermit's life in the woods of Malmesbury, he used often to station himself after mass on a certain bridge over which the people returned from the town, and there he used to stop them, endeavouring to correct and reform those semi-barbarous rustics by the melody of his verses. He composed at various times a multitude of poems and other works, and he expressly wrote on the rules of versification. To convey an idea of the interest which poets in the middle ages could excite among the higher orders of the clergy, we need only to refer to that scene painted by Marchangy, where he represents some rude warriors relating what had passed during their reception in an apartment at Avignon. "A gentleman of Padua entered the hall and spoke a few words to the Cardinal of St. Vitalis, who uttered a loud cry, and gave signs of the utmost affliction. This cardinal then spoke to those who were near him, and they in their turn lamented with hands raised up to heaven. The news was soon known to all excepting to us, who, comprehending nothing of this general desolation, were thinking that it must mean at least the sack of Rome, or some new schism in Christendom. It was in vain for us to ask the cause. Hardly would any one condescend to answer us, as if we were not worthy to feel this privileged grief, too delicate to reach hearts encased in steel. In the mean time there came in Mathieu Le-Long, Archdeacon of Liege, whose hands the cardinal seized, saying, the celebrated companion of your studies, whose genius all Europe admires, the divine Petrarch, is no more! It is even so, adds the gentleman of Padua, for I have just come from assisting at his obsequies; he died in his house of Arqua, the 18th of last July. The company soon broke up, each retiring to his own home apparently in equal consternation at this common loss *. If we now repair to the solitude of holy cloisters, we shall find the same affectionate converse with the Muse, disproving in its effects that maxim of the old Cratinus, that no verses can long survive which have been written by water-drinkers†. The saintly recluses of the middle ages were far from evincing that

* Tristan, Tom. VI. 101. † Hor. Epist. I. 19.

contempt for poetry and gentle studies which is so loudly professed by those modern theologians who are seen welcoming vile political débates, and engaging themselves in the vain and odious controversies of men. "For what reason I compose this work in verse," says Cælius Sedulius, the Irish priest in the sixth century, speaking of his great poem, "I will briefly explain. There are many whom an harmonious style and the songs of poets delight to such a degree that they take no interest in any work of rhetorical eloquence, neglecting all such studies, and being so fond of the sweetness of verses that whatever they receive in that way they commit to memory. I thought then that the manners of such persons ought to be not rejected, but cultivated, in order that every one according to his genius may be procured in a more voluntary manner for God *." But, independent of the efforts excited by charity, Plato would have said, that the monks were poets by profession, and sooth I believe if any convertite had proposed to them the question of the Athenian, "Are we to receive tragic poets into our state?" there would have been always some father sufficiently imbued with deep philosophy to make a reply in words similar to his, and with the smile of saintly brightness: "O reverent stranger, we are ourselves poets and makers of tragedies, authors of the best and most beautiful tragedy. The whole of our state is but an imitation of the best and most beauteous life, and we say that in fact that is the truest tragedy †." But in a lower and more ordinary sense we gladly admit the children of the Muses, among whom did not disdain to walk the great St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Columban of Ireland, and Jacopone, that saint and poet, monk, mendicant, ascetic, and traveller, that worthy predecessor of Dante. Was it not a monk of good life, John of the Abbey of Hauteselve, who translated into Latin the ancient romance of Dolopathos or the seven sages, the French translation of which was addressed by Hebers to the Bishop of Meaux? Was it not Guillaume de Guigneville, a monk of Chalis, who composed the romance of the three Pilgrimages, that of man while on the earth, that of the soul when departed from the body, and that

* Sedulii Epist. Fabricius, Poet. Vet. Eccles. Opera.

† Plato de Legibus, Lib. VII.

of our Lord who comes to visit his people? Did not Adam of St. Victor, that holy monk, during his travels in Greece, compose some sacred poems *? And did not Thibaud de Marly, a monk of the Cistercian order in the Abbey of Vaux de Sarnay, where he died in the odour of sanctity, in the year 1247, write a celebrated romance in verse †? Bernard of Cluni wrote a poem in Latin of three thousand verses on the contempt of the world ‡, and Mabillon commends the verses of Marc, of Monte Casino, the disciple of St. Benedict, which are the only vestiges that remain there of the studies of that time §. Who has not heard of Aboon, a monk of St. Germain des Pres, who died in 924, and of his Homeric poem on the siege of Paris, by the Normans in the year 885? John du Pin, a monk of Vaucelles, who was a good theologian, a great philosopher and naturalist, was also a poet of renown. He employed sixteen years in composing his great work, entitled, "Le champ vertueux de bonne vie," having begun it in the year 1324 ||. Is it forgotten that the first treatise on the art of poetry, which appeared in the French tongue, was written by a prior of the abbey of St. Genevieve at Paris ¶? or that the oldest Italian poet is the great St. Francis of Assisi? or that friar Guittone of Arezzo is reckoned among the founders of Italian poetry? or that the most ancient poem existing in a vulgar tongue, if we except the Niebelungen lay, was composed by the monk Otfrid, of the monastery of Weissemburg, who lived about the middle of the ninth century? This is a versified translation of the Gospels. The author was a disciple of the celebrated Raban Maur, Abbot of Fulda, and he dedicated his work to Luitbert, Bishop of Mayence. This monk Otfrid, in the preface, blames the French of his time for neglecting their own language, and complains that no one will write excepting in Latin; his object was to impart the advantages of poetry to the people. The historians of German poetry will tell you also of a re-

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. I. ii. c. 5.
† Id. Tom. VI. 73.
‡ L'Abbe Massieu, Hist. de la Poesie Francaise, 87.
§ Tractat. de Studiis Monasticis, cap. 11.
|| Massieu, Hist. de la Poesie Française, 212.
¶ Id. 222.

markable poem, composed by a monk Werner in the twelfth century, of which the subject was the life of the blessed Virgin, in which were united the epic repose with the eulogistic transports of revering gratitude *. A poem of great interest on the same subject was also composed by Philip the Carthusian. The courts of princes could bear witness that poetry was cultivated by religious men; Helynand was a poet who used to be invited every day after dinner to recite his verses before Phillippe-Augustus. The most celebrated piece of his composition was a poem on death, which is allowed to contain passages of great sublimity. After passing his early years at court, and in the castles of nobility, he became a monk and retired to the abbey of Cistercians at Froimont, in the diocese of Beauvais. On leaving the world he left also all the spirit, views, and interests of the world, but he did not forsake the Muse; he led so holy a life that he was regarded as one of the lights of his order. France beheld in him a poet who was a saint; he was also a man of profound learning: he composed many works in prose, a chronicle, a treatise on the advantages of a monastic life, and one on the policy of princes, which evinced great wisdom and ability. His poems continued to be held in such esteem, that Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote under St. Louis, speaking of the year 1209, says, "At this time lived Helynand, monk of Froimont, a man of extraordinary knowledge and virtue, to whom our language is indebted for the poem on death, which is now in the hands of every one as a work of great elegance and of acknowledged utility." Will you hear now for what favours the abbot Gutberct, the disciple of Bede, writes to his most loving and sweet friend in Christ, Lullus the bishop? "Since you have asked for some works of the blessed father Bede; I have prepared, with the help of my boys, to the best of our power, what I now send you, namely, his books on the man of God, Cuthbert, composed in prose and verse. I should willingly have sent you more had I been able. But the present winter has been so severe in our island with intense frost and dreadful winds, that the fingers of our transcribers have been unable to execute more books.

* Rosenkranz Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter, 177.

If there should be any man in your parishes who can make glass vessels, I beg that you will induce him to come here as soon as the season becomes mild; for we have no one who is acquainted with the art. It would delight me also to have a harper who could play upon the harp which we call rotta, because I have a harp, but no artist to play upon it. If it be not too much, I wish that you would send me such a person. I beg that you will not despise my petition, nor turn me into ridicule on account of it, and as for the other works of Bede, of blessed memory, I promise you if I live that I will fulfil your desire *." It may be remarked in conclusion, relative to the monastic poets, that many of their legends or short histories of holy persons have been acknowledged to possess considerable poetic merit. The German critics speak with fondness of the legend of Alexius, by Konrad of Würzburg, of that of the two Johns, by Heinz of Constanz, of the journey of the holy Brandan, in old German verse, which was celebrated in the middle ages, of the legend of St. Martina, by Hugo of Langenstein, and of that of the holy William of Oranse which was sung in the twelfth century in the language of the northern Franks, by Guillaume de Bapaume, and in German, by Wolfram von Eschenbach. But it was not only men separate to the church who possessed the enjoyments of the holy Muse; history records the names of multitudes in every walk of life during the middle ages, whose works evince a tender and poetic mind of boundless fecundity, and alive to the noblest and loftiest conceptions. It would not be too much to affirm that the people generally were then, not as is now supposed, mere animals of clay and spirits gross, but poets; and the reason of this phenomenon we shall better understand hereafter when we come to speak of the offices and festivals of the church. Dante and Petrarch do not stand isolated like beings of another world in their generation. They possessed but the art of expressing that which they felt in common with their contemporaries, and of developing in the language of genius the sweet and profound impressions which the multitude also experienced from the mysteries of faith, and the loveliness of nature. Do we suppose that ordinary men, in those ages of whom

* S. Bonif. Epist. LXXXIX.

history takes no note, had not also their visions of hell, purgatory, and heaven? That they had not also their seasons when the love of solitude would impel them to fly the city, and go wandering about the country, in summer seated in the shade on a green lawn or reclining on the bank of a river, and when autumn approached repairing to the woods, followed by the Muses? That they could not taste also how sweet was the pure and serene air, that their eyes would not contemplate with joy the stars which shone over them? Socrates says, that while Homer lived, he used to be utterly neglected *, but it was not so with the poets of the middle ages. When Petrarch came to Arezzo, his native town, all the inhabitants went out to meet him, and paid him the same respect and homage that they would have shown to a king. Such was the enthusiasm of a goldsmith at Bergamo, named Henry Capra, that he renounced his trade to commence the study of philosophy and poetry in the steps of Petrarch, whom he persuaded to come to his house, where he received him in a style of royal magnificence, with such joy and honour, that people feared he would lose his senses.

That noble cavalier, Pandolphe, of the ancient house of Malateste, was so delighted with the works of Petrarch, that he sent a painter to make his portrait. Rienze at one time owed his preservation, as Petrarch relates, to this love of poetry: for it being rumoured at Avignon that he was a great poet, they thought it a kind of sacrilege to put a man to death of so sacred a profession. In another letter Petrarch describes the passion for poetry which prevailed at this time, not in the city of Avignon alone, but in all parts; for he says, "Verses rain in upon me every day from France, Germany, Greece, and England. Our lawyers and physicians will listen to none but Homer and Virgil. What do I say? Even labourers, carpenters, and masons, abandon their hammers and shovels to lay hold of Apollo and the Muses. The other day a father came up to me in tears, and said, 'See how you treat me who have always loved you: you have been the death of my only son.' I was so struck with these words, and the air of the man who spoke them, that I remained for some time motionless. At

* Plato de Repub. Lib. X.

last, recovering myself, I replied, that I neither knew him nor his son. 'It is of little consequence whether you know him or not,' replied the old man; 'he knows you too well. I have ruined myself to bring him up to the law; and now he tells me he will follow no steps but yours. I am thus disappointed of all my hopes.'"—Charles Fontaine, in like manner, used to be often lectured by his uncle, Jean du Guè, a lawyer and avocat of the parliament of Paris, who endeavoured to prevail upon him to forsake the Muses for the bar, saying to him—

> "Mieux vaut gain que de philosopher
> A gens qui ont leur ménage à conduire *;"

But it is hardly necessary to add, such arguments had little weight with youth during these spiritual ages, when even tradesmen devoted themselves to the Muse. The famous Nicolas Flamel, from being at first but a simple scrivener in Paris, became a painter, a mathematician, an architect, a chemist, a philosopher, and a poet! What an extraordinary state of society was that which existed in Provence, under the sceptre of those amiable and poetic princes, who used to exempt their subjects from paying subsidies on condition that they could produce amongst them a troubadour †!—or that which was seen at the court of Urbino, when it was the asylum of the Muses, under the Duke Guidobaldo da Montefeltro? Historians relate, that many cities in the middle ages were in a peculiar degree favoured by the Muses. The poetic fame of Tholouse was inherited in Germany in the fourteenth century by Mainz, Strasburg, Colmar, Frankfurt, Würzburg, Zwickau, and Prague; in the fifteenth by Nürnberg and Augsburg; and in the sixteenth by Regensburg, Ulm, Munich, Steiermark, Breslau, and Dantzic. But generally speaking, as was before observed, the multitude, from which a great part of poetry springs, and to which, in one sense, it must return to be judged, was then inclined to receive poetic inspiration. The Muses would not then have separated their admirer from the people, according to the expres-

* Gouget, Tom. XI. 118. † Tristan, Tom. VI. 233.

sion of the Roman poet*; for ordinary life was then poetical, so that the personal impressions and recollections of men corresponded with the beautiful creations of poesy. The poets of these ages, like Guillaume de Lorris, frequently trace the origin of their works to some dream which they really had experienced while sleeping upon some sweet violet bank of a clear river in the season of spring, or to some ride by night in the midst of a tempest over a moor, or to some lonely watch near the battlements on narrow wall, marking below the sudden hastening of the swine, who snatch up straw in foresight of a storm, while the distant howl of wolves rises over the surrounding forest. It was not strange that youths who had swam by night in Menai's straits, when "the livid sparkles, those lightnings on the wave, crested the broken tides," should afterwards have had a wild romantic dream, which, with little effort, might employ the genius of a poet. Life admitted then of high natural enjoyments, and consequently men were formed to poetry. They were poets precisely because they lived simply and had an unsophisticated heart. It is a false, and not a Christian civilization, that kills the imagination and banishes the Muse from all converse with mankind.

Moreover, meekness and humility are essential to poetry, for pride is incompatible with its joys. The proud are too knowing to become or to continue poets. The sensations caused in us by the various beauties of literature and art are so fine and delicate, that they perish at the first effort of the mind to understand their causes and relations. In general, pleasure defies analysis, and we are affected exactly in proportion as we are ignorant of the manner how. The proud curiosity of the moderns has impoverished their imagination. That sensibility, which, in youth, extended to all surrounding objects, gradually departs, and the same men who had once so lively a sense of beauty, finish by regarding it with indifference. Do not these observations of Arnaud on the style of Plato, show clearly that meekness conduces to the possession of poetic enjoyment†? Now this artificial and perverted state, the result, not of a law

* Hor. Car. I. 1.

† Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tom. XXXVII.

of nature, but of a formal apostacy, which is substituted for the natural and renovated order of human life,—this proud curiosity, which only condescends to accept the gifts of heaven on condition of submitting them to an analysis,—did not exist in the ages of which we are attempting to relate the moral history; and therefore the assistance and the consolations of poetry were possessed in all their fulness. The very names of the streets of cities, as in Paris, bore testimony to the importance of the harper, who, like Reginald, had inhabited them, and the roads through forest wilds were designated by the titles that were celebrated in heroic song *. The poet, or harper, was a welcome visitor in the castle or in the cottage—men listened to him, as Plato says, as to one who knew many things; and they used him as boys make use of aged persons,—loving to hear their sweet tales †. Even amidst the cold regions of the North, the people were not all in these ages, as one might at present suppose, men like those described by Æschylus, whose lively blood dull draughts of barley wine had clogged ‡. These were the days when a young Harold bard of brave St. Clair,

> ——— "born where restless seas
> Howl round the storm-swept Orcades:
> Where erst St. Clairs held princely sway
> O'er isle and islet, strait and bay!"

would come to Roslin's bowers,—

> "Where, by sweet glen and green-wood tree,
> He learn'd a milder minstrelsy;
> Though something of the northern spell
> Mix'd with the softer numbers well."

These were the days when nobles in the castle halls,

* In the diocese of Paris there was a road called le Chemin de la Table Ronde; and the Rue de la Harpe was Vicus Reginaldi Citharistæ. Lebeuf, Tom. I. II. 567.

† Plato, Hippias Major.

‡ Suppl.

Μύθοισιν τέρποντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνέποντες, as Plutarch says,

> " And noble youths, the strain to hear,
> Forsook the hunting of the deer."

Even the pages of princesses were poets then, as was Michael Marot when page to Marguerite of France; and noble barons expected a poetic nature in their squires, as when Marmion, sitting under the wide chimney arch of the hostel, says,

> " Fitz-Eustace, know'st thou not some lay
> To speed the lingering night away?
> We slumber by the fire."

King Edward I. had a poet in his camp on his expedition into Scotland, who was a monk, named Baston. He was present in the dreadful battle, and describes the death of Sir Giles de Argentine with great feeling.—

> " Nobilis Argenten, pugil inclyte, dulcis Egidi
> Vix scieram mentem cum te succumbere vidi."

Who need be told, that even the banquets of these ages were associated with a poetic taste? Ταὶ Διωνύσου χάριτες, of which Pindar speaks *, were as familiar with our feudal ancestors as with the ancients †. For Christianity did not declare war against all Homeric manners. Speaking of the Provençal poets, Huet says, that the verses which Homer puts in the mouths of Phemius and Demodocus at the courts of Penelope and of Alcinous, and those which Virgil makes Iopas sing in the court of Dido, may prove the antiquity of the Guay Savoir. Simonides was a troubadour in the Castle of Scopas, and Lord of Thessaly; and Arion represented the same character with the princes of Italy. The ancient Gauls had also their romantic bards: and we learn from Possidonius, as quoted by Athenæus, that Luernus, Prince of Auvergne, holding plenary courts and open table, presented a sack full of gold to a strange poet, who had come to honour the feast. Samson gives his robe to the Philistines who explained his enigma; and Pisthe-

* Olymp. XIII. † Plutarch, Quest. Græc. § 36.

tærus, in the Birds of Aristophanes, advises another to give his tunic to recompense a poet, who was come to celebrate the praises of their new city.

I know not whether, among the ranks of modern society, it would be possible to select one to which justly would be applicable the words of Plutarch respecting the majority of kings, that they are not Apollos to sing, but Bacchuses to drink, *οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐκ Ἀπόλλωνες μὲν ἂν μινυρίσωσι, Διόνυσοι δὲ, ἂν μεθυσθῶσιν* * ; but I am convinced that these could not be used with truth, in reference to the character of the nobility of the middle ages. To propose giving instances illustrative of this assertion might well alarm a reader who was conversant with the pages of Wharton, Gouget, Renaudot, Millot, Tiraboschi, or any of the great literary historians of Europe. But those who have only met with modern descriptions of the feudal age, which ascribe to it the character of their own, may not be unwilling to hear some evidence in proof that the dignity of a noble was not synonymous with a profound contempt and incapacity for every thing but the dull realities of a materialized existence.

In the first age of French poetry there are recorded the names of Thibault de Mailly, of the illustrious house of Mailly, in Picardy, at that time one of the greatest in France, of Tristan, the châtelain of Coucy, and of Blondel, whose faithful attachment to King Richard I. of England was so celebrated in romantic annals. The oldest known poet of Provence was William IX. Count of Poictiers. In the time of St. Louis, nothing was more common than for great nobles and princes to be poets. Charles of Anjou, the king's brother, and afterwards king of Naples, Henry of Soissons, who followed him to the crusade, Henry, Duke of Brabant, Pierre Mauclerc, Count of Brittany, Raoul, Count of Soissons, Thibaut, Count of Champagne, and King of Navarre, were all celebrated for their love and cultivation of poetry. Thibaut, not content with repeating his verses, had them written on the walls of his hall at Provins, and in that of Troyes. Henry of Soissons was a worthy rival, who followed St. Louis to the East, and was made prisoner at the battle of Massoura: so that what Pindar says of the

* How to discern true Friends, cap. 16.

Locrians Epiziphyrians, might with strict justice be applied to the devout Paladins, who sought to deliver the Holy Land:—

——— Μέλει τέ σφισι Καλλιόπα
Καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης *.

And as at Corinth, where the bit was first joined to the rein of horses, and the eagle of Jove displayed upon the two parallel frontispieces of temples, and the sweetly-breathing Muse cultivated amidst the dreadful spears of heroes †, so to their towers might have been ascribed poesy and art, and the triumphs of a saintly warfare. How dear was poetry to Charlemagne, who collected all the ancient compositions of the bards! In the time of Charles, Duke of Orleans, father of Louis XII. and uncle of Francis I. the greatest seigneurs of France aspired to be poets and men of learning; and as Gouget says, the majority of them were writers. The Duke of Orleans had a noble genius and an admirable taste for poetry. In the manuscript collection of his poems on vellum, which the Abbé Gouget consulted, were also the poems of John Duc de Bourbon, of Philippe-le-Bon, Duc de Bourgogne, of Renè d'Anjou, of John of Lorraine, of the Duc de Nevers, of the Comte de Clermont, and of John, Duc d'Alençon. Spain, England, and Italy, could early boast of having poets among their highest princes and nobles.

Illustrious women were inspired by the same enthusiasm. Marguerite of Austria, while regent of Belgium, was the distinguished patroness of the poets, Jean Moulinet and Jean le Maire. She was herself a poet, and also an excellent prose writer: her most considerable work is the history of her misfortunes. The highest nobles of Germany followed in the same track, as Henry of Breslau, the Markgraf of Meissen, Otto of Brandenburg, John of Brabant, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, whose Castle of the Frauenburg was renowned in heroic song.

The Swabian poets flourished a century later than the Provençal, and derived their models from them. Frederic I. composed a short history of Provence. Many verses of the Count Rudolf of Nürnburg resemble those of

* Olymp. X. † Id. XIII.

Folque of Marseille *. Celebrated in the middle ages were the German poets Hartmann von der Aue, who sung the Knights of the Round Table, Wernt of Gravenberg, who composed the Wigalois, Walther of the Vogelweide, Konrad of Würzburg, Henry Frauenlob Wolfgang Röhn, Marner Müglin, Klinsor, Boppo, Regenbogen, Konrad Nachtigal, Herman Oertel, and Fritz Zorn, who composed the mystic twelve of the Nürnberg school, that were entitled the poets of the Wartburg. The wise grand master of the Teutonic order in the fourteenth century, Luther of Brunswick, loved poetry and music, and was himself a poet, singing the praise of the Holy Barbara, a saint greatly venerated in the order, whose relics had been brought to Kulm by the brave Dietrick of Bernheim. His example had such an effect, that throughout all the land of Prussia a taste for poetry became general, and poetic paraphrases were made of the Prophet Daniel, and of the Book of Job. The head convent of the order at Marienburg became the resort of minstrels and poets, some of whom were also knights and priests, who made religion and history the first subjects of their muse †. Spain could boast of her poetic princes: Don John the First, King of Arragon, was thought by his people to devote too much of his time to poetry; he lived always in the company of poets, whom he invited from every country ‡. Martin Franc, in his Champion des Dames, says,

> Lisez souvent au Breviaire,
> Du doulx poëte Alain chartier,
> Eslevez toujours le viaire
> A haultes besongnes traictier.

This is an allusion to the Breviaire des Nobles, of which he says, that all knights,

> Le Breviaire de Maistre Alain,
> Doivent lire deux fois le jour.

In fact, John le Masle, an Angevine, who has written a commentary on this poem, says, that in the time of our

* Rosenkranz Geschichte des Deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter, 52.

† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, IV.

‡ Diego Savedra Faxarda Christian Prince, Tom. I. 62.

ancestors it was in such esteem, that all pages and young gentlemen were obliged to learn it by heart, and to repeat it every day. The verses of these noble poets are often associated with the memory of an affecting and heroic history. John Regnier, escuyer and seigneur of Garchy, a counsellor of Philip the Good, was a great poet, whose affection for the poor was noticed in the last book. He had travelled, as he says, instigated by youthful desire to see strange countries, and had visited not only Italy and many parts of Europe, but also Greece, Turkey, the Holy Land, Armenia, and many other kingdoms. On his return he resided at Auxerre; but in the wars between Philip and Charles VII. of France, he was seized by the latter and imprisoned in a tower at Beauvais, which was opposite the cathedral. In his prison he composed many poems, one of which was entitled, his fortunes and adventures, which begins with a devout prayer to Jesus Christ. The other prisoners, finding out his talent, used to entreat him to write poems for them, which he did. One is entitled, for John Faulcon, a Norman esquire. Besides this, every solemn festival received his offering, that is, a poem on the subject which it commemorated. The poet, Charles de Clavison, who made it his pride that, in an age of heresy, he had always been attached to the Catholic religion, was a knight and lieutenant of the King of France; he dedicated his poems to his sister, Constance de Bauffremont, who was abbess of the royal monastery of Saint Menoulx.

Here then, I conceive, is proof sufficient that the race of men during these ages of faith, loved and possessed the consolations of poetry: it may be required, however, to state briefly what were the merits of those compositions, and their claims to the honour of the Parnassian mount. In the first place, the enthusiasm with which they were received ought to be a sufficient warrant to us that they fulfilled at least one of the essential ends of poetry, which is to move and to exalt. In their rapturous delight the men of these ages cried, "the course of the Loire swells with pride for having beheld the birth of Jean de Meun upon its banks." Jean de Meun, thus celebrated as a poet who finished the Romance of the Rose, was a doctor of theology, and with him and Guillaume de Lorris, in about the year 1050, under Henry I., the

French poetry may be said to have commenced*. Such was the admiration excited by Bernardo Accolti, in the time of Leo X., that when it was rumoured he was about to recite his verses the shops used to be shut, and the most learned men would crowd to hear him.

The applause with which the divine comedy of Dante was received at the time, is attested by the fact of pulpits having been erected in many cities, from which it was expounded. Boccacio was employed for that purpose by the Florentine republic; to him succeeded in the same office Antonio Padovano and Philip Villani. In Bologna, Benvenuto of Imola became a public lecturer upon it in the year 1375. In Pisa, Francesco of Bartolo da Buti gave a similar course in the year 1386. The celebrated Giovanbatista Gelli, from being a shoemaker in the streets of Florence, became one of the greatest writers of Tuscany, through the intense admiration which he conceived for the divine comedy. He used to say, that after being born a Christian, he knew no greater happiness than to have been born in the country of Dante. Yet when that immortal poem first appeared, there was nothing new or singular in its design, which was but a development of the deepest and loftiest thoughts that had long moved indistinctly through the minds of men, perpetuated by the tradition of many visions, like that related by St. Boniface, or that of the knight Tundal in Ireland, or that of Rotcharius the monk, in the time of Charlemagne. But, in general, the character of the poetry of the middle ages was religious, in so much that when poets produced works of a contrary tone, they were indebted for their success to the ingenious fervour which enabled the people to put a devout construction upon them, and by means of a supposed allegorical sense to impart to them a holy character. Thus it was maintained, notwithstanding the indignant and impressive eloquence of Gerson, that the Romance of the Rose was all allegorical, and that it contained sublime wisdom to correct men, that no attention was to be paid to the letter, but that the deep religious sense was to be carefully investigated. This rose, so difficult to gather, was wisdom, truth, grace, Christian piety, salvation, and, finally, the beatific vision. The

* L'Abbe Massieu, Hist. de la Poësie Française, 67.

Abbé Massieu says, that it is impossible not to smile at the simplicity with which all this is supposed in the editor's preface. But still this judgment of its contemporaries is interesting; it shows that in these ages men exercised as much ingenuity in turning to a religious and virtuous sense what might have been really objectionable, as the moderns evince in detecting a bad motive for every production. For such ingenuity, indeed, there was no occasion in order to discern the religious sense of the greater poets of the middle ages, those monarchs of sublimest song, who even in their lightest productions, like Shakspeare, evinced the constant action of a profound revering spirit. Dante lived at the time of the crusades, when all Europe rose against Asia; and yet, as a French writer remarks, this immense and awful event was not the subject which seized his poetic imagination. There was in the interior of Europe something still greater than this sublime episode, that which was the cause of this prodigious movement, religion. Three centuries later, the beautiful imagination of Tasso, amidst the delights of the court of Ferrara, found nothing more admirable to commemorate than the crusades. But even in presence of these holy wars, and while their memory was fresh, there was something still above them, the church, and it was this which he comprised in his mysterious and immortal Vision of the Life to Come. The example of St. Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, has been already adduced as that of a pontiff and a poet. He was born in the middle of the fifth century, and was a firm supporter of the Catholic faith against the Arians. His poems, in hexameter verse, being six in number, are on the Creation, on Original Sin, on the Expulsion from Paradise, on the Deluge, on the Passage of the Red Sea, and on the Praise of Virginity. The three first are only, as it were, cantos of one poem, which may be called the Loss of Paradise, and which modern critics acknowledge deserves to be compared with that of Milton. It has been thought by some, that his description of the garden of Eden is rather superior than inferior to that of the English poet; for, though so shortly removed from paganism, he mixes in his pictures fewer mythological images, the imitation of antiquity is less visible, and the description of the beauties of nature more varied and more simple. Like Milton, he has imparted to Satan some traits of his

original state, and a certain vestige of moral grandeur; he too has painted Satan, at the moment when he enters Paradise and perceives Adam and Eve for the first time,

" Proh dolor, hoc nobis subitum consurgere plasma,
Invisumque genus nostra crevisse ruina?
Me celsum virtus habuit, nunc ecce neglectus
Pellor, et angelico limus succedit honori.
Nec tamen in totum periit, pars magna retentat
Vim propriam, summaque eluit virtute nocendi.
Nil differre juvat: jam nunc certamine blando
Congrediar, dum prima salus, experta nec ullos
Simplicitas ignara dolos ad tela patebit."

It will be easier, he continues, to deceive them while they are alone, and before they shall have launched a fruitful posterity into the eternity of ages.

" Immortale nihil terra prodire sinendum est;
Fons generis pereat, capitis defectio membris
Semen mortis erit.
Hæc mihi dejecto tantum solatia restant:
Si nequeo clausos iterum conscendere cœlos,
His quoque claudentur: levius cecidisse putandum est
Si nova perdatur simili substantia casu.
Sit comes excidii, subeat consortia pœnæ,
Et quos prævideo nobiscum dividat ignes.
Sed ne difficilis fallendi causa putetur,
Hæc monstranda via est, dudum quam sæpe cucurri
In pronum lapsus: quæ me jactantia cœlo
Expulit, hæc hominem Paradisi è limine pellat.
Sic ait, et gemitus vocem clausere dolentis."

The departure from Paradise is thus described:

" His pater exactis, hœdorum pellibus ambos
Induit, et sancta Paradisi ab sede rejecit.
Tunc miseri egressum properant, mundumque vacantem
Intrant, et celeri perlustrant omnia cursu.
Et quanquam variis herbis ac gramine picta
Et virides campos, fontesque et flumina monstrat,
Illis fœda tamen species mundana putatur
Post, Paradise, tuam, totumque videntibus horror.
Quæque magis multo paradiso extenditur, illis
Angustatur humus, strictumque tuentibus orbem
Omnia lata nimis parent angusta duobus.
Squallet et ipse dies, caussantur sole sub ipso
Subductam lucem."

The middle ages were familiar with innumerable poems of a high moral interest, the fragments of which still charm and astonish us. Celebrated with our Anglo-Saxon ancestors was the poem of Beowulf, which has been termed a Gothic Iliad. It is so full of noble sentiments and poetic imagery, that the learned Dane, Grundtvig, affirms without hesitation, that any poet of any age might have been proud to have produced such a work. Equally renowned were the song of the Traveller in Anglo-Saxon, which is found in the great book at Exeter, bequeathed to the library of that cathedral by Bishop Leofric, at the close of the eleventh century, the triumphal song of the Battle of Brunanburh, and also the funeral dirge over Brithnoth, who, during the unhappy reign of Ethelred, fell gloriously fighting in the battle of Meldun.

Genius, indeed, must not be estimated by years, nor is every old poem holy or inspiring; but yet what reader of taste at the present day does not recur with pure delight to those English poems of the middle ages, collected by Percy, Wharton, Ellis, and Scott, which recount the heroic deeds, the mourning, and the devout joys of our Catholic ancestors? Many of these are by poets whose names have remained unknown; and some are said to have been the sole productions of their authors, who never made any other, like Tynnichus, the Chalcidian, who never composed any poem but that Pæon, which Plato says all used to sing, and which he affirms to be nearly the most beautiful of all hymns, the invention of which, having been without art, he therefore thinks was justly said to be divine rather than human *. In other works I have made use of these ancient Christian poems, in reference to the manners of chivalry,

> " When all of wonderful and wild
> Had rapture for the lonely child."

The interest attached to the poetic associations of those days defies the cavils of modern criticism. Lord Byron, writing as a reviewer, attempted to despise the Lay of the Last Minstrel; but while he travelled amidst the beautiful scenes of Greece, he could not refrain from

* Plato Io.

calling to mind, even at the court of Ali, the description of the castle of Branksome.

In turning to consider the merit of the early poets of France, we do not leave names and works of a domestic interest; for to Englishmen these old French poets were in some manner naturalized. Several of them had visited England, and were received in illustrious houses, where they nourished the genius of many of our own bards, and instructed the youth of noble families; as was the case with Denisot. The poesies of Ronsard were a consolation to Mary Stuart, who used to read them in the days of her sorrowful captivity, and to find in them a relief that could lighten the burden of her chains*. The modern French have nothing to despise in these ancient poets, but rather from them they might learn simplicity and nature, as well as beauty and force of language. Even the Abbé Massieu admits that the old metrical romances of France contained sometimes passages approaching the sublime. Where we least expect it, we find them giving to Christian virtue a most gracious, venerable, and august character, and striking terror into the guilty. Their object is not to represent the varieties of human character, but to move the soul with admiration and surprise, and that is the end which Aristotle had in view where he affirms that a philosopher is a lover of fables†. Henry Stephens made a collection of sentences from the old French romances, which he said were like Rabbis for the knowledge of many things which belong to the French language. These men, like Guillaume de Lorris, the Ennius of France, who began the Romance of the Rose, or like the songster of Limoges commemorated by Dante, could not at least be condemned as movers and fabricators of new words, an offence so alien from the office of a poet‡, though so common with those of our age who have risen to fame. William of Malmesbury observes, that at the time when the English were fond of making use of abstruse and pompous words derived from the Greek, their greatest poet St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Shireburn, was remarkable for not using exotic words unless very rarely, and when they were necessary. In

* Gouget, Bibliotheq. Française, Tom. XII. 295.
† Metaphysic. Lib. I. c. 2.
‡ Aristoph. Nubes, 1397.

the descriptive poetry of the middle ages, there was not that fault of attempting to conquer difficulties which do not repay the conqueror, of describing what has no need of being described; objects are only named, and the rest is left to the imagination; a word or a comparison place them before our eyes. It did not resemble the descriptive poetry of our times, which, as Guizot justly remarks, is scientific rather than picturesque, and which, by dint of analysing objects minutely like an anatomist, makes them appear dissected and decomposed.

It is easy to perceive too, in many instances, that this old poesy embodied the thoughts of men who possessed, as Marot says, "un gentil entendement." The modern critic Gouget admits, in praise of the poet Andrieu du Hecquet, that he reproves vice without sourness, instructs without being morose, that he is playful without insolence, that he assumes a tone of irony without saying a word that is personal, and that he praises without flattery. Huet, though he derides the old romantic poetry, seems delighted to find that the learned Italians acknowledge that they learned it from the provençals. He remarks that the ancient romantic poems have served to throw much light upon the history of Spain, and to correct the order of its chronology; and though he affirms that D'Urfe was the first to elevate romances from barbarism, it is not to be doubted but that those old Spanish poems, which he so much despised, will survive the fame of that incomparable Astrea to which he assigned the palm. In truth, it appears that very high notions were entertained during these ages of the nature of poetry, and of the object to which even its lightest effusions should be directed. The troubadour has songs for all kinds of glory, and a tear for all misfortunes. "Jonglerie," says a contemporary of St. Louis, "has been instituted to put the good in the way of joy and of honour." Then came the troubadours to sing the history of past times, and to excite the brave in relating the prowesse of the ancients. Half a century afterwards the maintainers of the "gai savoir," at Toulouse, exhorted poets to fly from sadness, and to make noble verses in order that all the world might be the more disposed to faith, and to virtue. There was to be nothing childish or effeminate in their verse. The advice given to them resembled that of Milon to Battos, recommending the choice of an heroic theme.

ταῦτα χρὴ μοχθεῦντας ἐν ἁλίῳ ἄνδρας ἀείδειν·

But as for these songs about private little domestic affections, it is only fit that you sing them to your mother at her toilet.

Μυθίσδεν τᾷ ματρὶ κατ' εὐνὰν ὀρθρευούσα*·

Poetry, said they, is not to be degraded to an art merely administering to pleasure. The sages of antiquity had nobler sentiments respecting it, one of whom noticing the saying of the majority that the great object of poetry and music should be the giving pleasure to the soul, adds, but to utter such word is neither endurable in any manner, nor holy, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὔτε ἀνεκτὸν οὔτε ὅσιον τὸ παράπαν φθέγγεσθαι†. "So far I agree to the general opinion," says Plato, "that music should be estimated by the delight which it inspires, but it is not by the delight of any one taken promiscuously; but that is the most beautiful muse which delights the best men, and those who have been best educated—those who are most remarkable for their virtue. Therefore, we maintain that virtue is an essential qualification for a judge of such things: for neither in the theatre ought a true judge to take any notice of the clamour of the multitude, and of its undisciplined judgment. The practice of determining the victory by the clapping of hands corrupted the poets themselves, who were induced to consult only the vicious pleasures of the multitude, and to look to them for instruction; and it corrupted the pleasure of the theatre, for it ought always to have exhibited better manners than those of the people, and to have inspired them with a sense of higher pleasure than their own‡." What a contrast is there between the judgment of the ancient sage respecting poetry, and that of our contemporaries! "That which does not admit justice," says Socrates, "does not admit any thing pertaining to the Muses, whatever is unjust is unpoetical, Ἄμουσον τὸ δὲ ἄδικον§." In their estimate of the importance and object of poetry, our ancestors adhered to the spirit of the ancient world, whose expressions only needed correction, as where Pin-

* Theocrit. Id. V.
† Plato de Legibus, Lib. II.
‡ De Legibus, Lib. II.
§ Plato, Phædo, 105.

dar says of their Apollo, that he invented the harp and bestows the Muse on whom he wills, in order to introduce peaceful law into the heart *, and as where Hesiod says, in a connected strain†, that poets and kings are from the gods, for under a legitimate domination, the gifts of the Muses to men never seem to emanate from the demon. Nostradamus, in his lives of the Provençal poets, says, that the monk of the golden isles expressed himself as follows, respecting Phanette and Estaphanette, "They excel in poesy, having a kind of divine inspiration, 'laquelle estoit estimée en vray don de Dieu.'" Horace thought that the Iliad of Homer conveyed a better moral instruction than the works of the most able philosophers, and certainly there is much to learn from the poets of the middle ages, though they might have little to expect from a critic like Quintilian, who excusing himself from deciding between the rival poets Sophocles and Euripides adds, that no one need hesitate to affirm that for all practical purposes Euripides is by far the more useful ‡. To a judgment formed on loftier and less earthly views, the simplicity of their construction, the profound piety of their sentiments, the corresponding tone of candour and innocence which characterize them, attended with some degree of that Homeric excellence of sublimity in great things, and of propriety in small, for government may be learned from the names which they give to wines in the fabliaux, cannot but conciliate the affection even of the modern readers, and perpetuate the renown of books which were alike recommended by the consent of the learned as well as by the love of boys. By the poets of the middle ages nature was shown in her totality with a holy earnestness. The solution for all temporal difficulties was sought for in the traditions of spiritual wisdom; and a grand universal view was exhibited of the origin and destiny of the human existence, as may be witnessed in that remarkable book entitled, "Hortus Deliciarum," composed in the twelfth century, by the abbess Herrad of Landsberg, at St. Odilien, near Strasburg, for the instruction and recreation of her sisters. It may be remarked too, that there was nothing forced or still-born in the poetry of the middle ages, because it was in accordance with the living faith of men. It was

* Pyth. V. 63. † Theogon. ‡ Instit. Orat. X. 1.

Homeric and Virgilian not from a cold repetition of Pagan fable and exploded error, but because in accordance with the true ideal exposed by Tasso it was employed upon such themes as Homer and Virgil would have chosen if they had lived in Christian ages *. How well does Mamertus of Vienne direct his companion—

"Quanto major ab his cedet tibi gloria cœptis,
In quibus et linguam exercens, mentem quoque sanctam
Erudies, laudemque simul vitamque capesses:
Dumque legis catus et scribis miracula summi
Vera Dei, propior disces, et carior ipsi
Esse Deo."———

But with this principle constantly borne in mind, there was nothing to prevent a Christian poet from knowing and mentioning all things. It was said, that he should read all books, so that strange works ought to be found in his study.

"——— Mais cela n'est offense
A un Poëte, à qui on doit lascher
La bride longue, et rien ne lui cacher,
Soit d'art magique, négromance, ou caballe,
Et n'est doctrine escripte, ne verballe,
Q'un vrai Poëte au chef ne deust avoir,
Pour faire bien d'escrire son debvoir."

But whatever might be the multitude of discordant subjects to which he alluded there should be never any difficulty in discovering what was the poet's own opinion: and heathen imagery was never to be used as a heathen would have applied it. Certainly no poet of the middle ages describing Adam and Eve in Paradise, would like Milton, have compared them to Jupiter and Juno †. Nor have been obliged to say of Eve,

"With goddess-like demeanour forth she went ‡.

Nor, on the other hand, would he like Milton have described angels in language that belonged rather to a heathen. What Villani chiefly admires in Dante, is the

* Dialoghi degl' Idoli. † Book IV. 500.
‡ Book VIII. 59.

art by which he reconciled the ancient poets with Christianity, and transferred their treasures to illustrate the Christian doctrine. In fact, the meek possessed all the intellectual as well as material riches of the earth, on the principle that was even known to Cicero. "Recte ejus omnia dicentur, qui scit uti solus omnibus*." In the poetry of Dante, Guinicelli, Cavalcanti, and even Petrarch, were united philosophy and theology, civil science and poetry, the beautiful and the divine, earth and heaven, not from a defective direction of the intelligence as the modern sophists affirm †, but from a thorough initiation into the mysteries of wisdom, and in accordance with that divine fiat which gave to the poor in spirit, and to the meek, both heaven and earth. To the ages of faith was unknown that erroneous philosophy which first appeared in France during the time of the fourteenth Louis, which rendered men scrupulous and afraid, whenever they beheld religion attended with the chorus of glorious and beautiful offerings of nature, and which taught that men could not have fancy as their companion along with reason as their guide. The great spiritual writers had shown to the exclusive admirers of every thing positive the danger of affecting to despise poetry. "There are some," says Taulerus, "in this life who too quickly bid adieu to images before truth has delivered them from their power: and because they deliver themselves they scarcely or never can attain to truth." The danger arising from the power of the imagination when not under the control of reason, that Socratic medicine, as Cicero terms it, was indeed never more carefully and acutely explained than in the writings of St. Anselm and other masters of the school, in which we may find passages exactly parallel to that sentence of Tieck, that if the feelings and imagination succeed in setting up their own supremacy, and in overthrowing reason, then each of our higher impulses begets a giant as its son, that will war against God. For doubt, wit, unbelief, and scoffing, are not the only faculties that fight against God; our imagination, our feelings, our enthusiasm, may do the same, though at first they seem to supply faith with so safe and mysterious an asylum." In the blessed John of the cross, the holy

* De Finibus, Lib. III. 22.

† Antichita Romantiche d'Italia, II. 213.

Theresa found a monitor to correct those wanderings of the imagination which had sometimes caused her so much pain, and who enabled her to read from experience that the imagination and the understanding, as she says, are not the same thing *. It was not overlooked that the possible errors of fancy are as great and their delusions as dangerous as those of reason; but neither was it unobserved in those times which beheld the fall of an Abailard, that as Frederick Schlegel says, there was much more occasion for pointing out the errors incident to reason, than for anxiously warning men against the possible abuse of fancy †. Upon the whole, therefore, to the philosophic views of the ages of faith, the object and employment of poetry were not different from those of religion. Tasso says, that the poem of Dante has contemplation for its object ‡; and accordingly we find that many of the poets then renowned, never began to compose without a formal and devout invocation of the Almighty §. Moral and pious reflections in verse are mixed up with their histories, as in that celebrated account of the life of Louis de la Tremouille, by John Bouchet, who proposed as his chief object to edify and instruct young knights in their various duties, as also in his book "Séjour des trois nobles Dames," though it was written for a particular occasion on the death of Arthur de Goufier, in which he says, that his object is to inspire hope and comfort to all persons in adversity, and to supply brief instruction to teach men how to pass the perilous ways of this dispiteous world. Thus again, Claude Mermet, entitled the collection of his poems, the past time of Claude Mermet, of Saint Rambert in Savoy, a poetical work sententious and moral, to give profitable instruction to all persons who love virtue. One poem of Arthur Desire, is entitled, Les Batailles et Victoires du Chevalier Céleste contre le Chevalier Terrestre. Raoul de Houdan, of whom Huon de Merry says, that no mouth of a Christian ever said things so well, composed a work entitled, the Story of the Way of Hell, which those follow who go to visit the Lord of Hell, "Plaisant

* The Castle of the Soul IV. dwelling.
† Philosophie der Sprache, 180.
‡ Discorsi sul Poema Errico, I.
§ Gouget, Bibliotheque Francaise, Tom. XI. 4.

chemin et bonne voye." As they began with a religious invocation, so they used to finish with a devout prayer. Thus concludes John Ruyr one of his poems.—

> " Jesus soit mon art studieux,
> Et sa sainte croix mon volume."

And the only reward which Martin Franc requires for his long labours in the composition of the Champion des Dames in defence of women, to disprove the slanders brought against them in the Romance of the Rose, is that they for whom he has composed it, would please to pray for him that he might obtain the kingdom of Paradise. Many of these poets, too, were themselves men of innocence or of sincerely penitential lives. Such were Luis of Leon, Gower, Lydgate, Southell, Tasso, Dante, and Petrarch. The exquisite Latin poems of Marc Antonio Flamminio, the friend of Cardinal Pole, are associated with the image of the most amiable of men, those of Vida, Bishop of Alba, with that of a prelate whose generous disposition had endeared him to the poor, those of Sannazzaro with that of a poet comparable to Virgil, whose heart was ever bent on heavenly musings. In reply to the heir of Petrarch, and on hearing of his death, Boccacio says, in his epistle, "After having read your letter, I wept all night for my dear master; not indeed for him; his prayers, his fasts, his life, permit me not to doubt his happiness, but I weep for myself." Philip Villani relates that when Petrarch had grown mature with age, he devoted himself without intermission to the study of theology, to the ecclesiastical office, to prayers and fasting, and that he lived piously and with simplicity. How engaging is the portrait which John Bouchet gives of the poet Pierre Riviere, in the verses which he placed on the tomb of "this child of Poitiers."

> " En son jeune âge il fut fort studieux,
> A Dieu devot, aux gens très-gratieulx,
> Humble et courtois, et de bonne nature,
> Prisé de tous par sa littérature."

The poet John le Masle, who expressly sung the moral excellence of poets, and their honest freedom, and who was celebrated as the commentator on the Bréviaire des

nobles of Alain Chartier, who had so well explained all the virtues and perfections which belong to the nobility of a gentleman, could bear this testimony to himself, that he had never sought—

> "Pour estre grand en biens, se mettre en servitude,
> Mais tousjours libre et franc, a mis tout son estude,
> A poursuir la vertu."

These are examples and lessons which ought not to be withheld from the youth of our times, which is in such danger of losing sight of the true ideal of the poet, familiar to men in ages of faith, and of mistaking for it the gloomy and delusive phantom of modern genius. The human intelligence is, to the ear of faith, like the statue of Memnon, which sends forth no harmonious sound, unless it be shone upon by the sun of justice. Without those rays to sanctify it, the extraordinary gifts of the Creator may astonish and impart a transitory pleasure to wretched mortals; though, after all, what is Childe Harold by the side of Dante, or Juan compared with the hero of the Jerusalem? but they can never yield a complete and unfailing joy. Sad, at all events, and unutterably miserable is the attempt of those who look to them for models of imitation. Modern literature shows how easy it is to catch the licentiousness and the gloom, without the freedom and the depth of Byron, the frivolity of the Troubadour without his grace and tenderness. As Marot says, in allusion to the celebrated but immoral poet Villon,—

> "Peu de Villons en bon savoir,
> Trop de Villons pour decevoir."

But how feeble is language to express the desolation which awaits genius misdirected, and employed to an unholy end, when, as in this once gay and licentious Villon, it beholds the early victims of its influence prematurely departing, and itself comfortless, self-tormented, and alone! Would you hear the mournful testimony of an old poet to the inefficacy of his art to sweeten such days:

> "Quand on est jeune, en grand esbattement
> Pour passe-temps et pour contentement,

C'est un plaisir de sonner la musette ;
Mais puis après, quand l'âge et la disette
Surprennent tost le poëte estonné,
Alors s'en va son chant mal entonné,
Diminuant tout petit à petit,
Car de sonner it pert tout appetit :
Alors il hait sa musette et sa muse ;
Si elle s'offre, il la jette et refuse."

St. Fortunatus of Poictiers taught the same lesson in his poem on human life :

" Cum venit extremum, neque Musis carmina prosunt,
Nec juvat eloquio detinuisse melos."

I am not ignorant that there is a dark and deplorable side belonging to the poetic history of the middle ages ; but I reserve my observations respecting it to a future place, where I shall speak in general of the virtue and vice which distinguished them, for the modern opinions will necessarily require an explanation, with respect to the profligacy of the licentious poets, when we may be able to place the fact of their existence in its just and natural point of view. At the present, let us direct our attention for a moment to the theatre, as it was reconstituted in the middle ages. All things, say the teachers of divine wisdom, are lawful to the pure ; but some are so essentially tyrannical, so powerful and universal in their tendency to bring men into subjection, to give force to the passions, and to enervate those higher powers of the immortal nature which are to wage war against the ancient serpent, that Christianity has pronounced them to be eternally separate from the sphere of her dominion, and from an association with her consoling promises respecting the enjoyments of a future life. In the form of the ancient world, the theatre evidently stood condemned on different grounds, but whether it was possible to revive it in any other, so as not to have it included among those things, through prudence, and almost necessity, forbidden, was a problem which did not admit of an easy solution. Some, in considering it, might indeed be influenced by caution and unwillingness to sanction any unnecessary restraint which might affect the interests of human genius, while others, with equal zeal in behalf of poesy, might question whether the interests of intelligence were really so

concerned in the result as was pretended. Probably it would be very easy to have demonstrated that they were not; and, indeed, the experience and testimony of men the most removed from ascetical influence, will go far to show that the grandest creations of dramatic poets are not developed by a representation on the stage of a theatre. But, however that question be determined, it is certain that genius lost that instrument of expression when the belief in the heathen mythology was destroyed. From that hour the real dramatic effect, in relation to higher poetry, could only be revived on the stage by an alliance between the theatre and the Christian faith, an association most difficult, most delicate, which it was obvious could not be accomplished until the Church had seen many ages and generations of her children, and which, if ever formed, the least relapse to heathen incredulity, or the scepticism of later philosophers, the least relaxation or diminution of simplicity and faith, would inevitably and for ever abolish. Such an union, however, did take place during the middle ages, and it was at an end when they closed, and from thenceforth the genuine children of the muse, they who had really drunk deep of the spirit of Æschylus and Sophocles might have regarded with the utmost indifference the controversy respecting dramatic representation between the Church and the self-imagined poets who sought to identify the interests of human genius with the success of their art and the encouragement given to their own profession. This brief statement may serve to account for the seeming inconsistency in the language of the clergy, who at one time cry out with the primitive Christians, What union is possible between the Gospel and the muses, between Calvary and the theatre? and at another, are heard to invite men to the new plays, which they have themselves composed, and in which their students perform characters, at the same time that they are condemning actors in ordinary theatres, saying, with John of Salisbury, that it is unquestionably a shameful thing to be an actor; "satius enim fuerat otiari quam turpiter occupari," declaring that actors and buffoons are excluded from the holy communion while they persevere in their malice, thence leaving the patrons and favourers of actors and buffoons to collect what awaits themselves, if those who do and those

who consent are to be punished alike *, and adopting as a passage to be for ever read by their successors in their office for the vigil of Pentecost, the solemn words of St. Augustin, which refer to the theatre in its ordinary state, in that to which it had always a tendency to return: "these things you must renounce, not in word alone, but in deed, and in all the acts of your life. For you are caught and discovered by your cunning enemy, when you profess one thing and perform another, faithful in name and not holding the faith of your promise, at one time entering the church to pour forth prayers, and shortly after in the theatres crying out shamelessly with actors. Quid tibi cum pompis diaboli quibus renuntiasti †?

The history of the Christian drama, though in many respects interesting, need not detain us long: its first efforts are witnessed in those mysteries, as they were termed, of the nativity, of the passion, of the resurrection, and of the acts of the apostles. This forced union, which, however, be it remembered, was the only possible device for affording to a Christian society a dramatic representation of the highest tone, is one of the chief grounds for the accusation of grossness and barbarism brought against the ages of faith by modern writers, who thus enable us to estimate pretty clearly the consistency of their own faith as Christians, and the depth of their sagacity as philosophers. In the villages, on the patronal feasts, the mysteries of their respective patrons and of other saints, used to be performed when every one would contribute, from the baron who lent his finest tapestry, to the poorest rustic, who gave his labour to construct the stage. There were pious spectacles at Paris, Metz, Angers, Poitiers, Rouen, Limoges, and in other cities of France. At Rheims, in the year 1624, the mysteries of the saints were transferred to the theatres of colleges. The personages were not libertines, adulterers, robbers, and gamesters, but angels, apostles, doctors of the law, scribes, and tyrants. The people were so familiarized with these scenes, that if any actor of the troop were absent, there was always some young man ready to take his part, and play an angel or a

* De Nugis Curialium, Lib. I. c. 8.

† Tractat. de Symbol. ad Catechumen.

martyr. In England, the first trace of dramatic representation is found in the history of Matthew Paris, where he relates that Geoffrey, a learned Norman, master of the school of the abbey of Dunstable, composed the play of St. Catharine, which was acted by his scholars in the year 1110. Another writer, in 1174, mentions that religious plays were acted in London, representing either the miracles wrought by holy confessors, or the sufferings of the martyrs. The Grey Friars at Coventry used to represent mysteries on the festival of Corpus Christi, comprising the story of the Old and New Testament, composed in the old English rithme, which used to attract vast multitudes of people to the city. In the year 1483 Richard III. visited Coventry in order to see the plays, and in 1492 they were acted in presence of Henry VII. and his queen. In every great castle the children of the chapel used to act religious plays during the twelve days of Christmas and at Corpus Christi. There is notice of this in the Earl of Northumberland's household book. In every college pieces of this kind used to be performed. The confraternities of the mysteries were composed of persons of the most innocent manners and of the purest intentions; and who can doubt but that these spectacles tended to keep men familiar with the themes which should be ever dearest to the Christian family *? At the same time it is to be remembered that, owing to incorrigible abuses, they were not every where equally favoured by the encouragement of the religious. The reply of the Sacristan, in the convent of the Franciscans at Poictou, to Villon, who came to borrow a magnificent cope, to be borne by one of his actors in the piece entitled The Passion, proves that such spectacles were sometimes regarded with displeasure by the clergy†. With respect to the literary merit of these pieces, their most disdainful antagonists admit that they are enlivened by boldness of incident,

* See Monteil, Hist. des Français, Tom. III. Hist. du Théâtre Français, par Parfait, Tom. I. 11. Hist. de Poésie Française, par l'Abbé Massieu, règne de Charles VII. Historia Universitatis Parisiensis a Buleo, annis 1469. 1483. 1487. Antiq. de Paris, par Sauval. Wharton, Hist. of English Poetry, &c.

† Hist. de Poésie Française, par l'Abbé Massieu, 257.

and that occasionally they evince an unexpected tenderness and delicacy of expression. It was from one of these plays called Adam and Eve, which Milton saw represented in Italy, that he is said to have taken the first hint for his poem of Paradise Lost. In Catholic countries, at the present day, there are sometimes to be seen, at banquets, certain religious shows in miniature, representing the annunciation, the nativity, or the epiphany, and the kind of galvanic effect which these innocent spectacles produce upon the sophists would be unaccountable, if one had not perceived that they were associated with a deep religious feeling, the attempt to recall which produces in minds that detest God, those paroxysms, which are supposed to arise only from the pain which all indications of a popular and barbarous taste occasion in persons of delicacy and philosophic refinement. When brought unexpectedly in presence of these innocent representations, they rail like the demoniac who came out from the tombs, and sometimes might be observed to use almost his words: "Quid mihi et tibi est, Jesu Fili Dei altissimi? obsecro te ne me torqueas *." There were other spectacles exhibited in the middle ages to which I shall merely allude. Those professedly ludicrous, though associated with solemn forms, were offensive abuses against which the clergy loudly protested. Contemporary writers speak of them with the utmost abhorrence, and yet perhaps they were only the indication of a natural disposition which belongs to men in their noblest state, which merely required to be directed and moderated. Müller speaks of the inclination of the Doric race to mirth and merriment, under which a very serious character was frequently concealed †; and, in fact, when these diversions of the middle ages are described, we might imagine that we were reading of those sports of the Lacedemonians which mingled in the same breath the grave and solemn lessons of philosophy, and the most ludicrous mimicry and buffoonery. Persius, the disciple of the Stoic sect, made Sophron the mimographer, the model of his satires; and the grave and philosophic Sparta was the only Greek state in which a statue was erected to laughter. Religion,

* Luc. VIII. 28.

† Hist. of the Dorians, Book III. c. 10.

indeed, would have the right to reject such a plea in mitigation of sentence, but when human wisdom proudly inveighs, we may, in justice to the character of the middle ages, reply, with the historian of the Doric race, that among that people the strictest gravity was found closely united with the most unrestrained jocularity and mirth; in the same manner as the modern society can lay claim to neither; for as every real jest requires for a foundation a firm, rigorous, and grave disposition of mind, so moral indifference and a frivolous temperament not only destroy the contrast between gravity and jest, but annihilate the spirit of both.

CHAPTER V.

Returning now to matters of more interest, we should observe that from the very nature and origin of the Christian religion, there was clearly no inconsistency between its principles and the possession of human learning. Truth admits of no separations or exclusions. In the first astonishment of the awakening soul of men and of nations, when apprized of the advent of the Son of God, it was indeed to be expected that there would be a temporary suspension of all intellectual exercise, and a total obliteration from the memory of all former and perishable things; but the universal and continued indulgence in such a quiescent state would, beyond all doubt, be contrary to the order of Providence, and opposed to the intentions of the Divine announcement. They who had been permitted to see the end of all perfection were at the same time made sensible that the commandment was very broad. The interests of truth sometimes required the employment of learning to illustrate and confirm it, and the Divine promises sanctioned the enjoyment of its advantages in declaring that the meek should possess the earth. St. Clemens Alexandrinus was the first among the Christians to attack the

profane authors with their own arms, and to make use of their learning. Origen followed in that track, but as St. Augustin says, " the faithful always accommodated what was good to their own use, wherever it was found. How much gold and silver," he says, " did the blessed martyr Cyprien carry away from Egypt? How much Lactantius? How much Victorinus? Optatus? Hilarius? We ought not to disdain what is good in the learning and arts of the heathens: " imo vero quisquis bonus verusque Christianus est, Domini sui esse intelligat ubicunque invenerit veritatem *." St. Basil, treating expressly on the advantages to be derived from the learning of the Gentiles, found much to praise in Homer and the Pythagoreans. The Greek fathers, indeed, are known to have endeavoured to imitate the style of Demosthenes and Homer†; and the importance which they attached to the beauties of literature, may be inferred from that work of Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, who, when Julian published his decree, forbidding the Christians to be instructed in ancient learning, in order to supply the faithful with a specimen of every kind of composition, according to the design of St. Gregory Nazianzen, formed the writings of the Evangelists and those of the Apostles into dialogues, in the style of Plato. Even St. Jerome had not omitted the study of the heathen writers, and in writing to Magnus, a Roman orator, he observes that the ecclesiastical writers who preceded him had always used this liberty. The passage in which he describes his ancient fondness for learning, is truly remarkable. " When I was young," saith he, " I was carried away by a wonderful ardour for learning, nor did I presume, like some others, to be my own teacher. I heard Apollinarius at Antioch, and worshipped him, yet I would never receive his contentious dogmas. When my hair became grey, and bespoke rather the master than the disciple, I went to Alexandria and heard Didymus. I was grateful to him, for I learned what I had not known before, and I did not lose from his teaching what I had before known. Men thought that I would make an end of learning, yet I proceeded again to Jerusalem and to Bethleem. With what labour

* De Doctrin. Christiana, Lib. II. cap. 18. 40.

† Mabillon de Studiis Monasticis, Pars II. c. 15.

and cost had I Bar-aninam for my nocturnal preceptor! for he feared the Jews like Nicodemus. Of all these men I make frequent mention in my works. Certainly Apollinarius and Didymus differ on many points, so that I was borne to one side and the other, for I confessed both of them as my masters! I have read Origen. If there be a crime in reading, I must confess myself guilty. Yet I never admitted his errors: his genius would never have displeased me. Lactantius writes a detestable sentence in his Institutes, yet who would forbid me to read that powerful work because of that one sentence? In like manner I may apply to Origen without fearing his poison. Physicians say that great diseases, being incurable, should be left to nature, lest medicaments should aggravate the evil. I have never sought, therefore, to transfer these errors of Origen into the Latin tongue, and to publish them to the world. Non enim consuevi eorum insultare erroribus quorum miror ingenia. If Origen were alive again, he would be indignant at you his admirers, who have made known his errors; and he would say with Jacob, 'odiosum me fecistis in mundo.' Let us not imitate his vices whose virtues we cannot follow. But the books of Origen may be read with profit for their learning and useful matter, and they who object to this should remember, that if there be a woe against those who call evil good, there is also one against those who call good evil *." It is a modern discovery that the Christian literature of early ages is unworthy of the attention of scholars. Petrus Crinitus, the friend of Politian and Picus of Mirandula, says "that he cannot express with what delight he studies the Greek and Latin fathers, for their writings seem to him to be treasuries in which there is such a varied and multifarious learning and knowledge of all things, that they contain nearly all laws and sentences of philosophy, and nearly all antiquity †." The tragedy composed by St. Gregory Nazianzen, of which I have already spoken, shows how early it was the desire of the Christians to avail themselves of the beauties of heathen literature. We do not find them paying any attention to the medium through which they might have to pursue intellectual riches.

* Epist. LVI. XLI.

† De honesta Disciplina, Liv. VIII. 1.

The celebrated Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. studied for three years at the Moorish university of Cordova, where the sciences of mathematics and medicine were cultivated with great success. It was this pope who introduced the use of the Arabic figures into Christian Europe. St. Augustine scrupled not to make use of the writings of Tichonius, a Donatist; and Mabillon, in his treatise on monastic studies, recommends the Prolegomena of Walton, and the proofs of Christianity by Grotius, and proves that it is consistent with the monastic duties to consult the writings of heretics, when they contain nothing contrary to truth *. Of the importance attached to learning in the estimation of men, during the ages of faith, we have evidence in almost all the ecclesiastical monuments which have come down to us. We find St. Augustin exposing the folly and criminality of certain enthusiasts, who were for dispensing with the trouble of learning languages, from expecting a particular inspiration, and even for despising all who did not pretend to it as deprived of the grace of the Holy Spirit. "Let us not tempt Him in whom we believe," says the holy Augustin, "lest being deceived by such craftiness of the enemy, we should become unwilling even to enter the churches to hear the Gospel, or to attend to any man reading or preaching, being inflamed with the hope of being carried up to the third heaven like the Apostle, there to hear ineffable words, and there to see our Lord Jesus Christ, and from him, rather than from men, to hear the Gospel. 'Caveamus tales tentationes superbissimas et periculosissimas †.'" St. Jerome, too, reproves certain persons who condemned him for his application to learning, and who esteemed themselves as saints because they knew nothing ‡. "Join yourself to a virtuous, tractable, and learned man," is the advice of an ascetic writer of the middle ages §.

The decay of learning, during the convulsions which attended the invasion of the barbarians, was regarded as a great calamity by the Christian clergy, whose affecting lamentations over the fall of letters, were a

* Tractat. de Studiis Monast. Præfat. Pars II. cap. 2. § 2.
† De Doctrina Christiana Prolog.
‡ Epist. XXV.
§ Thom. de Kempii Hortulus Rosarum, I.

proof how highly they esteemed them. St. Gregory of Tours, in the preface of his history says, "the study of letters and of liberal sciences, perishing in the cities of Gaul, amidst the good and the bad actions which were there committed, while the barbarians were given up to ferocity, and their kings to fury, while the churches were alternately enriched by devout men and plundered by the infidels, there has appeared no grammarian, skilful in the art of dialectics to undertake the description of these things in prose or verse, so that many men lament, saying, Woe to us! the study of letters perishes among us, and there is no one who can record the facts of this time; seeing that, I have thought it right to preserve, although in an uncultivated language, the memory of past things, that future men may be made acquainted with them." The promotion of learning was a constant object of solicitude with the sovereign pontiffs. "We are bound," says Pope Alexander III. to Peter Abbot of St. Remé, "to provide with so much the more care for the convenience of learned and devout men, as the fruit and utility are great which result from their labours to the churches of God." And in a subsequent age we find that it was the Roman pontiffs who encouraged the learned scholars, who devoted themselves to searching for precious manuscripts, like Poggio, the successive secretary to eight popes. Nicholas V. promised five thousand ducats to him who should produce a manuscript of St. Matthew in Hebrew, and he made Rome an asylum for the learned men of the East, when they fled from the Mahometans, carrying with them their literary treasures. It was the popes who assisted and supported the first printers, as the workmen of Faust and Schoeffer, on their removal to Rome. It is a pope, the great St. Gregory, so falsely accused of having burnt the library of Mount Palatine, which must have perished long before his time, who is the patron of scholars throughout the universal church. Of the wide diffusion of learning, during the middle ages, the generality of modern writers seem not to be aware, nor, on the other hand, of the very confined limits within which its influence extended before the rise and propagation of the Church. At the commencement of the Christian era, we find that books were so scarce, and the means of communicating them so scanty,

that the greatest writers were often unknown to their contemporaries. Thus Strabo is not once quoted by Pliny or by any other contemporary naturalist, nor is Aretin by Galen. It is probable that they were not aware of each other's existence. Whereas in the middle ages, in the vast society of the Church, by means of communication with Rome, and the intercourse which was carried on between monasteries, learned and holy men, though separated at the greatest distances, were known to each other, and Europe became one immense republic of letters. Schlegel shows that from the time of Charlemagne manuscripts were multiplied in the West with more profusion than they had ever been in the most polished times of antiquity, so that the writings of Greece and Rome were now studied and commentated upon in remote and desolate regions, to which, if it had not been for the ecclesiastical society, their fame would have never reached. We find the monk of Melrose, who wrote a chronicle of that abbey, quoting the fourth book of Aristotle de Animalibus, and the eighth of Pliny's Natural History. In the fifth and sixth centuries, amidst the dreadful shock of the fall of the Roman empire and the desolation of Europe, by the barbarous hordes, Ireland, from its situation, as Baron Cuvier remarks, being at a distance from the ruin, became the asylum of learning, and monks from Ireland then proceeded to carry back the torch to the devastated regions of Gall and Germany. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the ancient learning at any time wholly perished in any part of the empire. St. Augustin speaks of the wide diffusion of the Latin language as an event miraculous, and a result of the special providence of God to facilitate the work of evangelizing the nations. In the fourth and fifth centuries, the Latin was spoken in all the Galls to the Rhine, as well as in Spain and Italy. So late as the time of St. Bernard, the people generally understood Latin; and Mabillon places it among his questions, whether the sermons of St. Bernard were originally composed in the Latin or in the Romance. There was in Europe, as a modern French critic observes, a kind of intellectual republic, which was styled "omnis Latinitas." It is certain that St. Bernard sometimes preached in Latin, and his secretary says of him, that his eloquence and wisdom are celebrated "through all Latinity." Yet

he preached also in the Roman wallon, or language of the country. In the seventh and eighth centuries it was in Latin that even popular songs were composed. When Clotaire II. gained a victory in the north of France, his army celebrated it by a Latin song.

It appears, from the Life of St. Eloy, by St. Ouen, that in the seventh century the upper classes of Rouen were familiar with Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Herodotus, and Homer, with Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Virgil, Menander, Plautus, Horace, Solinus, Varro, and also with other authors, of whom we have now nothing but the catalogue of their writings *. St. Gregory of Tours relates that King Gontran, making his entry into Orleans, was received with greetings in Syriac and in Latin; for in consequence of commercial relations, the oriental languages were then taught in the schools of Paris. The chronicles of these ages speak of many saints who were skilled in the Roman law. At the end of the seventh century, St. Bonet, Bishop of Clermont, was learned in the decrees of Theodosius, and St. Didier, Bishop of Cahors, from the year 629 to 654, applied himself to the study of the Roman law. The tenth century is that age of deplorable fame which is said to have been involved in extreme darkness,—insomuch, that the heretics have made it a ground to deny the perpetual and uncorrupt transmission of the doctrine of the Church. Mabillon, aided by his unbounded learning, examines the history of this period, and comes to a result widely different from theirs: he even proves that the complaints of Cardinal Baronius † can only be justified by a regard exclusively directed to the state of Rome and Italy at that moment; for that a view of the universal Church will demonstrate that, although there were then indeed many evils to be deplored, yet all things were not so deplorable but that there were some remains of ancient learning; nay, it will show that there were then many men of the most eminent sanctity and of sound learning, who were able to transmit the uncorrupt doctrine of the Church to posterity. No age is void of moral darkness. The holy Fathers in primitive times lamented the reign of wickedness and ignorance: this we too lament, and this our

* See Recherches sur l'Hist. Relig. et Lit. de Rouen, 41.
† Ad An. 900.

posterity will lament also; but never does the Church lose the savour of sanctity and of learning which she received from Christ *. Ignorance is the punishment of sin; but they who say this, continues the master of the sentences, should consider diligently, that not every one who is ignorant of something, or who knows something less perfectly, is therefore in such ignorance, or ought to be called ignorant; because that only should be called ignorance when what ought to be known is not known. Such ignorance is the punishment of sin when the mind is obscured with vice, so as not to be able to know the things which it ought to know †. This is a darkness which involved the race of men in no age of the Church's history; but the light of human learning in Italy was no doubt in the tenth century obscured,—though even then, as Henrion justly remarks, the object of studies was good, since it embraced doctrine and morals, the only things in reality of which the knowledge is essential ‡. In the eleventh it broke forth again in the various congregations of learned Benedictines, the success of whose labours are acknowledged by the moderns themselves; but even in the tenth century, other nations enjoyed greater learning: for it is a mistake of Villemain, when he affirms that Italy had uninterruptedly remained more civilized than every other part of Europe §. Spain, though oppressed under the yoke of the Arabians, beheld those great prelates, Gennadius of Asturia, Attilanus Zamorensis, Sisenand and Rudesind of Compostello; and the state of the Church with regard to learning, in Germany, France, England, and Ireland, was far happier. Bruno, brother of Otho the great, and Archbishop of Cologne in that age, is thus described in the chronicle of Magdeburg: "He was endowed with a great genius; he was great in learning, and in all virtue, and industry. Being appointed by King Otho to preside over the untameable Lotharian nation, he delivered the country from robbers, he instructed it with legal discipline, he loved the flock committed to him, he saved many from error,—some, by assiduous disputations,

* Præfat. in V. Sæcul. Benedict. § 1.
† Petr. Lombardi, Lib. II. distinct. XX.
‡ Hist. de la Papauté, Tom. III. 177.
§ Tableaux de la Litterature au Moyen Age, I. 97.

leading to better things, and others, by maturity of learning, inflaming with a holy desire:—mild in speech, humble in learning, a destroyer of evils, an asserter of truth, gentle to the subject, severe to the proud, and fulfilling in his own life what he taught to others." Of Rotgerus, a German bishop in the tenth century, we read that he was versed in Greek and Latin, and that wherever he went he used to carry about with him his library, like an ark of the Lord *.

Modern critics have remarked, that the prodigious number of books published during the twelfth century, attests the existence of a multitude of readers. They admit, that in the city and feudal life of those times, a great number of persons, of all classes, employed themselves in reading, and in reasoning on the books they read †. Even the Provençale poetry of the Troubadours, is not free from the influence of classical antiquity; for it contains some literal imitations from the Latin poets, and one Troubadour expressly cites Plato, Homer, and Virgil. That classical learning was at no time wholly neglected, might be inferred from the writings of many whom obscure fame hath concealed from ordinary readers ‡; but the compositions of distinguished men throughout the series of ages, place that point beyond question. To attempt to give an adequate idea of the learning of the clergy during the ages of faith, would be wholly inconsistent with the very narrow limits prescribed to this inquiry, and indeed it would be also on other grounds deserving of ridicule, since it would indicate great presumption in one who is himself without learning, to pretend to estimate that of others. It is not for a mere spy to feel ambitious to mount the horses of Achilles. Nevertheless, I fain would say something on this subject, not only because one feels as it were arrested irresistibly by the kind of solemn and romantic interest which is attached to it, but also in consideration of its extreme importance, independent of what is required to be shown in this place: for though many good men may be disposed to think lightly of such disquisitions, there

* Mabillon, Præf. in V. Sæcul. Ben. § 2.

† Villemain, Tableaux de la Litterature au Moyen Age, I. 307.

‡ Vide Hæren, Geschichte des Studiums der Classischen. Litteratur im mittelalter.

is reason to believe that the strong hold of heresy in many heads consists in the opinion, that during the middle ages, men were ignorant to such a degree as to be incapable of distinguishing truth from error, history from fable.

When Mabillon published his Treatise on Monastic Studies, in which he proved the antiquity, universality, and great importance of the study of learning in the religious orders, the celebrated Armand de Rancé sent forth a reply, in which he disproved the necessity for such studies in members of the monastic order, and proceeded even to criticize, with considerable severity, that part which related to the conduct of the ancient religious in the cultivation of the sciences. The facts, however, he did not disprove: and although he might feel that no obligation resulted from the example of such numbers of holy monks who had applied to learning, to music, and even to poetry, he could hardly have expected that the judgment of many readers would acquiesce in his suggestion, that these men must have forgotten death and judgment, because they had been anxious to procure a copy of Cicero's books, de Oratore, and the Institutions of Quintilian. At the same time it cannot be denied but that, independent of the object presented to us in this place, there would be more occasion for explaining on what grounds the elect children justified their cultivation of human learning,—though, to those who stand near the mountain, the answer is involved in no difficulty,—than for proving a fact which is so evident to every one conversant with the history of the middle age, that they did possess it in an eminent degree. It is, however, to illustrate the latter proposition that I am at present called upon. But to what order shall I first turn for examples? or what bright gems shall I select from the overflowing plenty in the intellectual treasury of the meek during the ages of faith?

Before I attempt to enter upon the subject, I would observe, that to a Catholic, not only the philosophical, as we shall see in another place, but also the literary history of the world, is prodigiously enlarged; objects change their relative position, and many are brought into resplendent light, which before were consigned to obscurity. While the moderns continue, age after age, to hear only of the Cæsars and the philosophers, and to

exercise their ingenuity with tracing parallel characters among their contemporaries, the Catholic discovers that there lies, between the heathen civilization and the present, an entire world, illustrious with every kind of intellectual and moral greatness: the names which are first upon his tongue are no longer Cicero and Horace, but St. Augustin, St. Bernard, Alcuin, St. Thomas, St. Anselm: the places associated in his mind with the peace and dignity of learning, are no longer the Lyceum or the Academy, but Citeaux, Cluny, Crowland, or the Oxford of the middle ages.

Perhaps I shall best discharge the office I have undertaken by abandoning all pretensions to an oratorical enumeration of illustrious titles, which need only be named to proclaim genius and wisdom in its utmost cultivation,—and by simply taking detached statements from the history and other writings of the middle ages, which will prove that, in whatever direction we look, we shall be sure to discover some eminent example of extensive and excellent erudition. Taking them then as they might occur to one who at hazard would open the ancient chronicles, how remarkable is this testimony of Bede, that Thobias, the Saxon Bishop of Rochester, could speak familiarly, not only the Latin, but also the Greek language? What an example is presented by the venerable Bede in his own learning! Barlaam, who first made the Italians acquainted with Homer, was a monk of St. Basil, who came from one of the seven convents which the religious of that order possessed at Rossano alone, where they cultivated the popular Greek dialect, which had remained in Calabria. What episcopal see, what holy monastery, during the middle ages, was not associated with the names of men most illustrious for their love of letters? Who has ever fathomed that sea of learning in Dominic and Aquinas,

> "Whence many rivulets have since been turn'd
> Over the garden Catholic, to lead
> Their living waters, and have fed its plants *."

The fact of the existence of libraries in the early monasteries, even in the days of St. Pachomius, is adduced by

* Dante, Parad. XII.

Mabillon in proof of the great antiquity of monastic studies *. Celebrated were the libraries of Lerins, of Tours, of Monte Cassino, of St. Germain-des-Près, where Dacherius was librarian when he compiled his Spicilegium, of Bobbio, which was so rich in ancient manuscripts, of Luxueil, of Corby, of St. Remi at Rheims, of Fulda, of St. Gall, of St. Emmeranus, at Ratispon, and of Einseidelin; in the last of which I have seen curious manuscripts of Bede's works.

In England, our libraries are but of modern date; for the pseudo-reformers did not spare even those which they found in the Universities: but in the libraries on the continent before the French revolution, were collected the accumulated stores of the learning of the middle ages. In the abbey of Jumièges, the writings of Annon, its learned abbot in the tenth century, might have been found as he had left them. There were no less than seventeen hundred manuscripts in the abbey of Peterborough. The libraries of the Grey Friars in London, that of the abbey of Leicester, and that of the priory at Dover, contained noble collections, as did also those of Crowland, Wells, and many others. To these all persons had access. At Crowland it was ordained that the greater books, of which there were more than three hundred volumes, were never to be taken for the use of remote schools without license of the abbot; but smaller books, of which there were more than four hundred, such as Psalters, Catos, and Poets, might be lent to boys and acquaintances of the monks, but only for one day †. The magnificent library of the abbey of St. Victor at Paris, used to be open to the public during three days every week ‡. There were even public libraries attached to some parish churches. Baptist Goy, the first curate of the parish of St. Magdalen at Paris, left his libraries to the church, one for the use of the clergy of the parish, and the other for that of the poor parishioners §. The library of Marucelli, at Florence, was founded by a virtuous prelate, for the use of such men of learning as were poor, as the inscription testifies—" Publicæ et

* De Studiis Monasticis, Par. I. cap. 6.
† Ingulph. 105.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. II. 5.
§ Lebeuf, II. c. 4.

maxime pauperum utilitati." In the works of Petrus Crinitus *, there is repeated mention of learned men,—Picus of Mirandula, Politian, and others,—meeting together in the Marcian library at Florence, to discuss questions of philosophy and literature. St. Louis, in the same manner, used to visit the public library which he had founded at the holy chapel in Paris, for the purpose of conversing with learned men. There is a character of learning and sanctity belonging to the very rooms which contained the ancient collections, as may be witnessed in the library of Merton at Oxford, and in that of St. Michel-in-Bosco, at Bologna; in which latter, over each department of books, was a noble painting of the principal writer belonging to it. Thus over the scholastic philosophy was seen the angelic disputing with the subtle doctor on the "universal à parte rei." The student of Rome, when he finds himself in the libraries of St. Augustin and of the Minerva, waited upon by the men of those venerable orders, seems of necessity to imbibe somewhat of the grave and holy spirit of Christian antiquity. Bede mentions the multitude of books that used to be brought from Rome to England by holy bishops on their return thence. St. Osmond, Bishop of Salisbury, who completed the building of that cathedral, collected thither men of learning from all parts, and retained as well as invited them by his liberality: he formed a library, and enriched it literally with the works of his own hands, transcribing books for it, and binding them himself. So again in the time of Pope St. Gregory VII. Herrand, Abbot of Ilsenburg, afterwards Bishop of Halberstadt, having founded a school at Ilsenburg for all liberal arts, and collected many learned men, made there a noble library, which was particularly rich in old histories †. Of the abbot, William of Hirschau, we read, that he became when young most learned in all kinds of science, so as to surpass his preceptors, and that he mastered all the arts which are called liberal ‡; that he was skilled in philosophy, in dialectics, in music, —so that he wrote upon it,—in mathematics, arithmetic,

* De Honest. Discip.

† Voigt's Hildebrand als Papst Greg. VII. und sein Zeitalter, 164.

‡ Chron. Hirsang. An. 1071.

and astronomy; that he procured copies of holy and profane books to be written out in beautiful letters, in which work twelve monks of the house sat daily employed. He used to send good men to govern other monasteries, many of which became celebrated in consequence, among which are reckoned that of St. Peter at Erfurt. There were above two hundred and sixty men in his abbey, who all loved and revered him. Mabillon desires his reader to consider what was the immense manual labour exercised by the Cistercians and Carthusians in copying manuscripts and writing them out for the public, in revising, and correcting, and collating the works of the holy fathers, and to consider too how all this was done in a spirit of humility, and pious fervour, and penitence, for the good of the church and the greater glory of God. "Be not troubled at the labour through fatigue," says Thomas à Kempis in addressing youth, "for God is the cause of every good work, who will render to every man his recompence, according to his pious intention, in heaven. When you are dead, those persons who read the volumes that were formerly written beautifully by you, will then pray for you: and if he who giveth a cup of cold water, shall not lose his reward, much more, he who gives the living water of wisdom, shall not lose his recompence in heaven *."

The collection of the Latin Fathers on vellum, written in the most beautiful characters, and illuminated with exquisite paintings, which is in the Libraria Medicea in the cloister of St. Lorenzo at Florence, or the splendid choral books and Bible, in twenty-two volumes, of the Carthusian monastery of Ferrara, will give an idea of the labour and admirable skill of the monks in this art. Albert was a monk of Cluni, distinguished for the number of beautiful books which he wrote out and bound. The Bible was covered with beryl stones: he had read it through twice and corrected it twice, and at the end of his labour he fell at the feet of the seniors of Cluni, beseeching them to pray to God for him and for his father, that their sins might be forgiven them †. Estates and legacies were often bequeathed for the support of the scriptorium of abbeys; at Montrouge, indul-

* Doctrinale Juvenum, cap. 4.
† Chronicon Cluniacensis, X.

gences were given for the supply of books, and vestments, so that to that poor rustic church crowds of learned men and scholars used to come from Paris, to cast their little piece of silver or gold into the trunk appointed for the alms in behalf of learning. By the Pope's Bull, in the year 1246, which stated that the churches in Prussia and Livonia, being as yet infant, were unprovided with books, monks and other persons were invited to send them a supply of books out of their abundance, or to employ writers at their expence for furnishing them; and indulgences were extended on their complying *.

In the middle ages, books were generally bound by monks. Charlemagne, by charter, in 790, gave to the abbots and monks of Sithin, an unlimited right of hunting, in order that the skins of the deer should be used in making covers for their books. The prodigious number of volumes frequently composed by one writer in the middle ages, is constantly a subject of astonishment to those who visit libraries. The works of Albert the Great form twenty-two folio volumes! But one might account for this in the same manner as that in which Cicero explains the wonderful dispatch with which Pompey accomplished his naval projects, when he says, "Whence had he this incredible celerity? For he possessed no extraordinary power of impelling ships, no unheard-of art of navigation, no new winds; but the things which generally delay others did not detain him: no avarice diverting his course for objects of plunder, no lust carried him away to pleasure, no love of ease to delights, no fear of labour to repose †." It is to be remembered also, that the chief of a convent had often as many as fifty young men who studied under him, and who wrote out extracts for him. St. Peter the venerable abbot of Cluny, in the twelfth century, employed learned men to translate certain books from the Arabic. St. Raymond of Pennafort procured the Arabic and Hebrew tongues to be taught in several convents of his order; in the abbey of Tavistock, of which so many of the abbots were learned men, a regular course of lectures on the Saxon tongue used to be given, which was continued until the dissolution by Henry VIII.

* Voigt. Geschichte Preuss. II. 491.
† Pro Lege Manilia, 14.

It has not been sufficiently remarked with what care the monastic philosophers endeavoured to cultivate the barbarous idioms which arose upon the cessation of the Latin tongue. The only grammar of the Romance language was composed by Basil Maier of Baldegg, a monk of Einseidelin *. During the conquests of the Teutonic order in the North, it is the bishops who are found insisting upon the importance of cultivating the national idiom, in order to instruct the people in the precepts of the orthodox faith †. In Italy, the professed champions of the vulgar tongue went so far as to condemn the study of Greek and Latin, as the dialogues of Speroni the Paduan, in the sixteenth century, can testify ‡. But probably, while poets and fine writers were condemning the clergy for the importance which they attached to the ancient languages, they would have been found, under many circumstances, as in Ireland, perfectly willing that the national tongue of one country should be sacrificed to that of another, which, however, would have been not the less preserved without their co-operation, as it was there by bishops, priests, and friars. Mabillon observes, that we owe the histories of England and of many other kingdoms, almost solely to the Benedictine monks §. Especial regard was paid by them to the studies connected with history. Matthew Paris says, that in every royal monastery in England there was one learned and diligent scribe, who used to note down all the actions and events of each reign, and that on the death of the king, this account was referred to a general chapter, to be examined, and afterwards it was inserted in the chronicle, which was to transmit them to posterity. We should have been always children in our national history but for the writings of Bede, Ingulphus, William of Malmesbury, Matthew of Westminster, and Matthew of Paris. In the same manner we are indebted for the history of France to Odo of Vienne, William of Jumièges, Oderic Vitalis, and other monks; for that of Italy, to Paul the deacon, Erkempert, Leo Marsicanus, and Peter the deacon; and for that of Germany, to the abbot Regi-

* Tschudi Einseid. Chronic. 172.
† Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, III. 146.
‡ Dialogo delle Lingue.
§ De Studiis Monasticis, I. 16.

nonus, Wilichind, Lambert of Ascenburg, Ditmar, and Herman. "In our schools," says Mabillon, "were taught all branches of learning, but every other study was referred to that of the sacred Scriptures and of the holy Fathers. Whenever the atrocity of wars did not impose silence on the Muses, those ancient academies were schools of eloquence as well as of virtue. The profane authors were studied with the sole limitation of excluding what was immoral. Thus St. Anselm, writing to Maurice, prescribed to Arnulphus that he should read Virgil and other authors, "exceptis his, in quibus aliqua turpitudo sonat." Celebrated was the learning of Gerbert at the time when he only taught in the cathedral school of Rheims, where he had for his pupils King Robert and the Emperor Otho III. and Fulbert, who became such a learned priest. Mabillon shows, that the joys and sweets of study might, without scruple, be possessed by monks, who, for the sake of recreation, might read voyages, elegant orations, or heroic poems. The books of Virgil were under the pillow of St. Hugo VI. Abbot of Cluny, though he had a dream which represented the fables of poets as a poison *. Yet his judgment probably outweighed it. St. Augustin makes use of a verse of Virgil to illustrate a mode of expression in the holy Scriptures †.

We find that no branch of learning was disdained by the monks. Among the fathers of Italian literature, Pignotti acknowledges many Tuscan monks of the Dominican order, from whose works he says, even at the present day, the students of the language imbibe the purest draughts of learning, such as Bartholomew of St. Concordio, Beato Giordano, a famous preacher, Dominico Cavalca, equally celebrated for his divine eloquence, and Jacob Passavanti, who, besides being a most admirable preacher, gave lectures upon philosophy and theology in various cities. It was this friar who directed the building of the church of Santa Maria Novella: but his sermons, his theology, and philosophy, have all disappeared, and his Mirror of true Penance alone remains,—an ornament of the language, being written first in Latin and afterwards translated by himself into the vulgar tongue. The works of these theologians enjoy the double advantage of teaching at once

* Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 423. † Enchiridion, cap. 13.

Christian truths and elegance of style. The precepts sweetly penetrate the heart with a soft unction : and such is the beauty of the language, that we seem to hear the most eloquent fathers of the church *.

In the beginning of the ninth century, John Scotus, named Erigenus, from his country Erin, or Ireland, which was then renowned throughout the West for its learning, had travelled as far as Greece through his ardour for philosophic studies. " I did not fail," he says, " to visit every place or temple where the philosophers used to compose and deposit their secret works, and there is not one of the learned men, who had any knowledge of their philosophical writings, that I did not question †." He resided at the court of Charles-le-Chauve, who invited many learned men from Ireland and from the Anglo-Saxons, insomuch, that instead of saying, as before, " schola palatii," men used then to say, " palatium scholæ." John Erigenus, as the chief of this school, used to lecture on Plato and Aristotle, the former of whom he called the greatest of the philosophers of the world, and the latter, the most subtle inquirer among the Greeks as to the diversity of natural things ‡. He was profoundly versed in Greek, and probably in Hebrew, so that, at least, on the ground of his extensive learning, we may be allowed to mention him. With the same reserve one may also allude to Abailard, though his blessed end may free his memory from every dark association. This extraordinary man was said by his contemporaries to have been ignorant of nothing in heaven or on earth, excepting himself. Peter of Cluny, who used to call him the Socrates of the Gauls, put these words upon his tomb : " Ille sciens, quicquid fuit ulli scibile." Heloisa had studied under him philosophy and theology, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Of Alcuin I shall speak shortly ; but there are names less renowned that one ought not to pass over in silence. Leon, of Ostia, who wrote the voluminous Chronicles of Mount Cassino, by order of the Abbot Orderic, in the eleventh century, has merited the highest praise of Baronius and Dupin ; Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, Paul, the dea-

* Hist. of Tuscany, II.
† Wood Hist. et Antiquit. Oxon. Lib. I. 15.
‡ Jean, Erig. de Divisione Naturæ, I. c. 33. 16.

con of Aquilea, whose life was spared when convicted of a conspiracy against the emperor, on consideration of his learning, William, Archbishop of Tyre, and James of Vitri, are historians of whom the most cultivated age might be proud. A German monk, who lived in the middle of the eleventh century, Lambert von Affschenbourg, wrote an admirable history of the wars of Italy against the empire, in a style imitated from the great models of antiquity; he had studied in his convent Livy, Tacitus, and Sallust. At the end of the tenth century, amidst wars and disorders, the monk Gerbert, in the monasteries of Aurillac and of Bobbio, was studying the most precious manuscripts of Latin antiquity, and some even that we possess not; he was studying metaphysics, geometry, history, and literature; he was inventing works of ingenious mechanism, and exchanging them for manuscripts. "We do not send you the sphere," he writes to one of his friends, "it is not a thing that costs little labour amidst so many occupations. If, therefore, you are very earnest in these studies, send us the volume of the Achilleid of Stacius, carefully transcribed; with that present, you will be able to draw this sphere from me, which you can never procure gratis, on account of the difficulty of such a work." The zeal of Lupus, Abbot of Ferriers, in the ninth century, induced him to write to the pope, to request that he would send him a copy of Quintilian, and of a treatise of Cicero. His correspondence with other abbots respecting the loan of manuscripts is highly curious. One friend, having sent to borrow a manuscript, Lupus sends back the messenger without giving it to him, because, though a monk and trustworthy, he was travelling on foot. In the thirteenth century the Dominican and Franciscan orders produced men of most remarkable genius and learning. Baron Cuvier says that it is really astonishing to reflect upon what was written by Albertus Magnus, Vincent of Beauvais, though he was of Burgundy, who composed an immense Encyclopædia, St. Thomas Aquinas, that meek master of the sapient throng, and Roger Bacon; for though the latter composed but comparatively small treatises, they are full of genius, and evince a most extraordinary spirit of discovery. It may be well to compare this language of a great modern naturalist with that of some Catholic historians. The learning of the Franciscans

was celebrated. Monteil says, that there was justice in the old proverb, "parler Latin devant les Cordeliers*." Dugdale says, that the Franciscan order has yielded so immense a number of men renowned for learning and piety, that it is impossible to mention them†; and he states, that in England many extraordinary men proceeded also from the schools of the Augustinians ‡.

Notwithstanding the zeal which was evinced for manuscripts, the monks are accused of neglecting, and, in consequence of the scarceness of parchment, of cancelling them, though it is not probable that the latter was ever done with that reckless disregard for the intrinsic value or rarity of the original, which some modern writers suppose. It does not appear that the publishers of the manuscripts of the classics accused the monks of neglecting them. Petrarch only says to his brother, "If I am dear to you, charge some faithful and learned man to travel through Tuscany, and to search the shelves and chests of the monks, and other men of instruction, in hopes of producing something to allay my thirst." It is true they speak of dark corners and iron clasps, but it is only to give an air of greater importance to their own activity, and not to censure the monks who had them in their possession. The description which Benvenuto da Imola gives of the visit of Boccacio to Monte Cassino, in which he says that the library was left open, that the books were covered with dust, some of them torn and defaced, and that the grass was growing in the windows, besides that the sum of its testimony amounts to little, contains intrinsic evidence of having been written with a hostile mind. "Fast shut and with great care the library of sacred books is to be preserved," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "from all defilement of dust, from fire and from damp, from thieves and from the sound of clamour, from clay off the feet and the corrosion of worms, from all stain and rent of leaves. He is not worthy to read a sacred book who knows not how to take care of it, and who neglects to put it back in its proper place. Thus must be preserved the treasury of the church, made and edited by holy doctors, written

* Hist. des Français, Tom. III. 395.
† Monast. Anglic. Vol. II. 6.
‡ Ib. Vol. II. 224.

and collected by good writers, and provided by God for the consolation of many*." That only one copy of Tacitus should have been found in an old chest in the monastery of St. Gall, is no proof that the ancient learning would soon have perished through culpable neglect, since manuscripts of that author were always scarce, and one instance of carelessness will not justify an universal charge, not to remark that the searchers for manuscripts, like hunters, were no doubt often guilty of exaggerating their difficulties. Chateaubriand says he does not remember to have found in any catalogue of the ancient monasteries of France a single copy of Tacitus. The Benedictine monks of Corby possessed the five first books of his Annals†. The only manuscript of Phedrus that existed was in the library of the cathedral of Rheims. It appears even that the condition of the copies of manuscripts in one monastery would be known to monks living in another. Peter the venerable abbot of Cluny, writing to Guigo, prior of a Carthusian monastery, and sending him some books, assigns as his reason for not sending with them the tract of St. Hilary upon the Psalms, that he had found in his own copy the same corrosions as existed in that of the Carthusians‡. In erasing Cicero's book, De Republica, to write upon the parchment St. Augustin's Commentary on the Psalms, it may be conceived how naturally they might conclude, that they were substituting a work of incomparably superior value, and they would hardly have supposed that the former would not come down to posterity, since so much of it was preserved even in the writings of Lactantius and other Fathers. On the invention of printing, the monks were the first to appreciate its value and importance. In the year 1474, a book was printed by the Augustin monks of a convent in the Rhingau. The first patrons of Caxton were Thomas Milling, Bishop of Hereford, and Abbot of Westminster, in which abbey he established his printing-office. The first printing press in Italy was in the monastery of St. Scholastica at Subiaco, the productions of which are sought after with such avidity on account of their extraordinary beauty. It was

* Thom. de Kempis Doctrinale Juvenum, cap. 5.

† Mabil. Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Bened. § 4.

‡ S. Petri ven. Epist. Lib. I. 24.

the Bishop of Holun who enabled Mathison to introduce printing into Iceland. In the year 1480 a printing press was established in the Benedictine monastery of St. Alban, of which William Wallingford was the prior. John Whethamstede, abbot of that house, was celebrated for his love of learning. Soon after the introduction of printing, another press was established in the abbey of Tavistock, where the printer was a monk, Thomas Rychard. Along with this prodigious discovery for the propagation of learning, appeared that admirable society of fervent disciples of our Lord, who demonstrated the art of combining the interests of piety with those of learning, not only exercising, but even teaching it, as in the incomparable work of Father Jouvency, the Ratio discendi et docendi. Among the first fathers of the society, Salmeron, at the age of twenty-one, Laynez at twenty-four, and Bobadilla at twenty-six, had acquired such learning, that they were the admiration of the court of Paul III.; and Bellarmin, before the age of thirty, had composed seven learned controversial treatises. Tolet and Vasquez, at the age of twenty-five, began to be the oracles of the universities of Spain. But the services of the Jesuits in multiplying editions of excellent books have never been appreciated; though independent of all other benefits, that work alone gave them an unquestionable title to the gratitude of Christians in all future ages. Of the love which men bore for learning during the middle ages, we have many curious and memorable instances. The Abbot Lupus, in a letter to Einard, says, "The love of letters is innate in me almost from the first days of boyhood." His love of learning induced him to travel into Germany to Fulda, not in order to learn the German language, but "that he might feed his soul with sacred study and erudition*." St. Liudger, when a child, used to make imitations of books with the bark of trees, and with them to form a little library. When a youth he travelled to many countries for the sake of attending the lectures of learned men; and on his return from York into Saxony he carried with him a quantity of books. John of Salisbury, in a letter to Count Henry, says, "that in his late interview with Peter, Abbot of St. Remy, that holy man had affirmed that nothing was

* Mabillon, Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. § 8.

sweeter to him in life than to converse with men of letters upon subjects of learning *." Richard of Bury, Bishop of Durham, in the thirteenth century, was celebrated for his love and encouragement of literature. Besides having libraries in all his palaces, it is related that the floor of his common apartment used to be covered with books, so that it was no easy matter to approach him. St. Bonaventura on account of his singular virtues and most admirable learning, having been offered the archbishopric of York in England, begged of the pope, Clement IV., to permit him to continue in his evangelical poverty to serve the holy church by his studies of holy Scripture and divinity. Let us be satisfied, without demanding further evidence, and confess that we have no reason to accuse the middle ages on the ground of their neglect of learning. Is it for the present race of men to boast of being the first to appreciate the value of books, when their type of a great sovereign exhibited one, who for a mere political and commercial trick exported from the coast of France the contents of some of the richest libraries in the world, consisting of superb Benedictine editions, and of vast treasures of ancient books, which had been plundered from the monasteries during the revolution, and then piled up in churches till they reached the very roof, for the express purpose of casting them into the sea, in order that the ship might take in coffee and sugar in their place †? Who now loves learning on its own account? May not this age, notwithstanding all its pretended freedom, supply posterity with matter for another treatise, like that of Lucian, on men of learning in pay of the great? what writer is not now, at least, in pay of the public? and when was learning more independent than during the middle ages? Of how many branches of learning might we not say, what one of the greatest natural philosophers of the present age affirmed of science, that "there are very few persons in England who pursue it with true dignity: it is followed as connected with objects of profit ‡." The writers of Catholic times were never drudges for vain man's applause, or for base lucre. Not for the world's sake, for which now they toil who

* Joan. Saresberiensis, Epist. CLXXII.

† In the year 1809.

‡ Sir H. Davy's Consolations in Travel, 1830.

send forth lying books, but for the real manna grew they mighty in learning. Letters are, indeed, professedly cultivated, and spoken of with admiration; but where are they seen to act upon minds with that real power which they exercised during the ages of faith? where is there now a student, like St Edmund, or a master, like Bede, who used to be so excited by his reading, and moved to compunction, that often while he was reading and teaching he used to burst into tears?

"Consider the happiness and content of a scholar's life," says the author of the meditations which were compiled for the English College at Lisbon; "The pleasure of learning is most pure and etherial, most constant, gathering strength with her increase; finally most secure and honourable without any danger of foul wretchedness, blemish of fame, or breach of friendship; whereas all other pleasures are gross, tumultuous, and sordid. In point of dignity too scholars have the preeminence; for there is no man but laughs at a fool how rich soever, and in his heart respects a scholar though never so poor*." Thus wrote these holy men whose pathetic statement of the prospects which then awaited their students on their return to England where so many were martyred, cannot be read without the deepest emotion. "None," say they, "but those who have had the experience can truly conceive the conditions and difficulties of this state." But who in our days of comparative facility in the pursuit of letters is found to speak with the same reverence and love for learning? Turn to whatever side we will, the utmost we can expect to hear is the language of Callicles. "I love to see a youth devoted to philosophy, but when a man continues to cultivate it, I deem him worthy of stripes; for however ingenuous he may be by nature, he becomes servile through study. For he flies from the centre of political affairs, and all the custom of forensic assemblies, hiding himself and whispering in some corner with three or four boys all his life; and never coming forward to sound forth any thing liberal or magnificent. Truly, O Socrates, I love you; and therefore I say to you that you are neglecting what you ought to meditate, and that you are moulding that generous excellence of your mind

* Part IV. c. 3.

to a certain boyish form, and disqualifying yourself for all active and public affairs of life, and neglecting to exercise yourself in matters which would make you seem to be wise, and procure you fame and riches, and many other good things *." With what effect do we suppose such persuasions would have been addressed to the studious inhabitants of cloisters and colleges in the middle ages when it was known that a Divine blessing was on the man who had borne the yoke from his youth, who should sit solitary and hold his peace? But it will be said, these were all men separate to the Church. The laity during this time were in a state of deplorable ignorance. No greater error than to suppose that they were. The evidence which has been already adduced of the wide diffusion of learning, might be still further strengthened, if we were to visit the places where one might least expect to find it; for we should frequently discover, even in the feudal castle, men of great erudition. It is said, that a single book often formed its library, which had the appearance of a piece of furniture, being enclosed within boards, locked up, and opened as a kind of sanctuary, from which during the long evenings of winter men used to read without ceasing: but one book then contained a great deal of matter, if we may judge from the compilations which have come down to us, and this is after all but an exaggerated picture of the little encouragement afforded to study by the habits of feudal life. Little favourable as they may have been to a constant fortuitous and desultory reading, which St. Bonaventura says, does not edify because it renders the mind still more rambling and unstable †, still there were some points in which they were more in accordance with the interests of real learning than those of the modern society; for as letters have in them something generous they inspire an aversion for exercises in which the mind does not participate; they render men, as Don Savedra says, solemn and melancholy, lovers of retirement, and averse to public employments, and such a disposition found many circumstances of feudal life as if peculiarly accommodated to its state. We are told, indeed, in the Lay of the Last Minstrel, that Lord Cranstoun's elfin

* Plato Gorgias.

† S. Bonav. Speculum Novitiorum, cap. 15.

page was surprised to find Michael Scot's book on the person of the wounded Sir William of Deloraine.

> "Much he marvell'd a knight of pride,
> Like a book-bosom'd priest should ride."

But the fact is, that great numbers of nobles and princes in the middle ages were men of considerable learning, fond of books; and many who were themselves without it, respected and encouraged it in others, like Theodoric, who was so passionately fond of learned men, though he could not even write his own name. Gaston Phebus, that celebrated knight and feudal prince, was so attached to learning that he formed a collection of Greek, Latin, and Italian authors, and it is to the education which she received at his court, that historians ascribe the admirable beauty of the writings of Clotilde de Surville, which have been lately restored to light. De la Barre, the historian of Corbeil, says, "that Anthony Seigneur de Carnazet exalted the honour of his house by adding to the lustre of chivalry the glory of learning, and produced the fruits of his noble mind, in his discourses on morals to be the instruction of his children, having the courage to proclaim this truth, that science is more estimable than nobility, riches, strength, or valour." The Secretary of Anthony de Gingins, President of Savoy under Duke Charles II., composed his Mirouer du Monde, while residing in the castle of that old nobleman in the country of Gex, at the foot of the Jura, where he found a library containing, as he says, many beautiful and exquisite books, such as Strabo, Ptolomy, l'Especule Naturel of Vincent of Beauvais, Pliny, Albumasar, and others, from which he made extracts, and composed in the Gothic and French language this present book, entitled, Le Mirouer du Monde *. François de Malherbe, on his return to Caen, from his travels during which he had resided at Heidelberg and at Basle for the sake of attending the lectures of professors, delivered discourses in the public schools of the University of Caen, with his sword at his side, of which practice Huet gives other examples. Nicholas Vauquelin sieur des Iveteaux, author of the poem on the Institution

* Gouget, Bibliotheque Française, Tom. IX. 226.

of a Prince, delivered discourses publicly in the same university in the dress of a cavalier *. Even a gentleman of Gastine, in Poitou, who had no other theme but hunting, and the recollections of his youth, became distinguished as a writer in prose and verse, as in the instance of Jacques de Fouilloux, whom Gouget inserts in his history of French authors †. Gaufridus Bellus, the fourteenth Count of Angers, is described as admirable for probity and justice, and though engaged in the profession of arms, excellently learned and most eloquent among the clergy and laity ‡. Fulco the good, Count of Anjou, is said by the same historian to have been very learned, and a profound master of learning among brave soldiers. St. Odo, the second abbot of Cluny, relates that his father used to know by heart the histories of the ancients and the novels of Justinian, and that the evangelical words were constantly heard at his table §. What learned nobles did England possess in Catholic times! how did the true sentiments of a Christian gentleman breathe in every line of the works of Antony Woodville, Earl of Rivers, as remarkable for goodness as for erudition! John Tiptoft, the learned and accomplished Earl of Worcester, was so great an orator, that at Rome he was said to have drawn tears from the eyes of Pope Pius II. On the flight of Edward IV. he was taken prisoner and beheaded. Caxton exclaims on this event, "O good blessed Lord God! what grete loss was it of that noble, virtuous, and well disposed Lord, and what worship had he at Rome in the presence of our holy fader the Pope, and so in all other places unto his deth; at which deth, every man that was there might lern to die and take his deth patiently." The learning of many of the Italians in the middle ages, has never been exceeded. Giannozo Manetti, the Florentine, was one of the most learned men that Europe ever possessed: he spoke Latin, Greek, and Hebrew: he translated the whole of the Psalms from the original, and he wrote a book in confutation of Judaism, exposing their misinterpretations of the holy Scriptures. These sacred studies and the reading of the works of St. Augustin made him a theologian; he considered St. Augustin and

* Id. Tom. XVI. 111.
† Id. XVI. 34.
‡ Dacher. Spicileg. Tom X.
§ Bibliotheca Cluniacens. 15.

Aristotle as the greatest men the world had ever seen: he had the whole work De Civitate Dei by heart, as also the Ethics of Aristotle, and the Epistles of St. Paul; and he asserted that theology ought to be the principal science of mankind. Raphael Maffei was another learned Tuscan of the fifteenth century: he passed the latter part of his life as a hermit in a cell covered with boards, sleeping upon straw, feeding upon bread and water, and a few vegetables: he finally renounced all profane erudition, and wrote only the lives of saints. He founded and endowed a monastery of nuns, under the title of St. Lino, and was himself regarded as a saint. The convents could bear testimony to the love of learning which animated numbers of noble laymen. It was in the spirit of that age, when Cosmo de Medicis enriched with a library the magnificent Abbey of St. Bartholomew, near Fiesole, and presented another collection of books to the convent of St. Francesco, which was not far distant from his Caffaggiolo, situated in a picturesque wood in the pleasing valley of the Mugello, resembling those delightful groves which the poetic imagination has ascribed to Arcadia. In an early age, Cassiodorus, who was blessed, as Gibbon says, with thirty years of repose in the devout and studious solitude of Squillace, carried with him to the monastery of Monte Cassino, his own extensive library. An Italian author remarks, that flattery has had no share in the elegant representation which adorns the hall of the palace Pitti, from the pencil of John Mannozzi, where the Muses are painted as exiled from Greece, and meeting a courteous reception from that house; for the government of Florence was distinguished by the hospitable reception which it gave to the illustrious fugitives. When Raymonde Sebonde came into France, from learned and philosophic Spain, with the intention of visiting the University of Paris, he was stopped on his way by the city of Toulouse; for such was the enthusiastic admiration excited there by his renown, that the inhabitants forced him to remain, and absolutely detained him against his will. In the middle ages, were seen many kings who were men of learning and ardent admirers of all wisdom. What an admirable instance is that of Charlemagne surrounded by the eminent scholars whom he had collected from all nations. What a zeal did he evince for learning! "O! I

wish," he exclaimed one day while conversing with Alcuin, "that I had twelve clerks as learned and instructed in all wisdom as were Jerome and Augustine!" when Alcuin replied, "The Creator of heaven and earth had not any more like them, and you wish to have twelve!" Such was the esteem in which letters continued to be held at the imperial court under another monarch, that the present of a book was received as an equivalent for a tax due to the crown. The abbot of Corby, in the year 847, wrote as follows to the king. "Instead of a present of gold or silver for this festival, I send a book on the Eucharist, which although small in bulk, is great in consideration of the subject. I composed it for my dear disciple the Abbot Placide de Varin." No sovereigns encouraged learning with greater zeal than Louis-le-Jeune and Philippe-Augustus. King John of France in that feudal age, evinced a great love for learning, and to his orders the French owed their first translation of Livy, Sallust, Lucan, and Cæsar. Christine de Pisan, writing the life of King Charles V. in which she adheres most rigidly to truth, divides the work into three parts, which are entitled, on the Nobleness of Courage, of Chivalry, and of Wisdom, for learning entered then into the ideal of an excellent prince, and offered them titles which they valued more than those of their royal birth, as in the instance of Henry of England. By order of King Charles V. some of the finest treatises of St. Augustine, as well as the whole Bible, the greatest part of the works of Aristotle, Cicero, and many other authors, were translated into French: and this king gave immense pensions to the learned men who were employed in these labours. Speaking of John the brother of Charles V. then Duc de Berry, Christine says, "Se délicte et aime gens soubtilz, soyent clercs ou autres, beaulx livres des sciences morales et histoires notables, moult aime et voulentiers en oit tous ouvrages soubtilment fais*." Of his brother, Lewis, Duc d'Anjou, she says, "il amoit les chevalereux et les sages clercs†;" and of his fourth brother, Lewis, Duc de Bourbon, "aime et secuert les bons chevaliers et les clercs sages ‡ en toutes choses bonnes soubtilles et belles

* Livre des Fais du Sage Roy Charles V. II. chap. xii.
† Id. II. 11. ‡ Id. II. c. 14.

se délicte; livres de moralitez, de la sainte Escripture et d'enseignement moult luy plaisent, et voulentiers en ot, et luy mesmes par notables maistres en theologie en a fait translater de moult beaulx." Of Louis, Duc d'Orleans, son of King Charles V. she says, "that often there used to be before him many disputations of great congregations of wise doctors and solemn clerks, when many cases would be proposed and put in terms of diverse things, and that the memory and eloquence he used to evince on these occasions were wonderful, as he replied to each of the arguments, not in a high and fierce style of language, but mildly and all in peace, so that it was beautiful to witness it*." King Charles V. was told on one occasion, that some persons had murmured against him for paying such honour to clerks, but he replied, "One cannot too greatly honour clerks who have wisdom: for so long as wisdom shall be honoured in this kingdom, it will continue in prosperity, but if wisdom should be ever thrust out it will fall away†." The old writer, who collected the very joyous history of Bayart gives this testimony, that the Duke of Ferrara is a gentle and wise prince, "qui scet quasy tous les sept ars liberaulx et plusieurs autres choses mécaniques‡;" and that the duchess is a most triumphant princess, being beautiful, good, sweet, and courteous to all kinds of people, and so learned that she speaks Spanish, Greek, Italian, French, and a little very good Latin, in all which languages she can compose§. The Duke of Nemours, he relates, passing through a little town named Carpy, remained there with his knights two days, and was very well received by the seigneur of the town, who was a man of great learning in Greek and Latin literature: he was cousin-german of Picus of Mirandula, and was styled Albertus Mirandula, Count of Carpy‖. Picus of Mirandula, at the age of twenty-three, maintained at Rome certain theses, containing nine hundred propositions, drawn from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic authors. The Emperor Ferdinand III. spoke a great number of languages, and could answer every ambassador in his own

* Id. II. c. 16.
‡ Chap. XLII.
‖ Id. chap. XLVII.
† Id. Part. III. c. 14.
§ Id. chap. XLV.

tongue *. The learning of these high princes was indeed not always scholastic. It was sometimes acquired solely by intercourse with learned men. Thus the King Don Alonso of Naples used to retire after his repasts in the company of learned men, in order, as he used to say, to feed his mind after refreshing his body, and even Francis I. King of France, whose reign beheld a suspension of learning, without having studied in his youth, made himself, by means of similar conversation, qualified to speak on all subjects of importance. Christine de Pisan, mentions that King Charles V. did not neglect this method, for being circumspect in all things, as she says, in order to adorn his conscience, it pleased him often to hear at his collations masters in theology and divinity of all orders of the Church, having them around him and honouring them greatly, having in the utmost reverence every spiritual father or wise person, of just and salutary instruction †. It would be hazardous to affirm that the chivalrous lords of feudal towers, like the modern sons of nobility, could always boast of having possessed a Phenix for their governor, but unquestionably in Catholic times, the cloister supplied true sages, whose conversation was able to form great and good men to administer justice and govern their dependants with benignity and firmness. It remains to speak of the character of the learning which was thus diffused and ardently pursued during the ages of faith.

A modern French writer, treating on the fifth century, says, that not only did literature become wholly religious, but being religious it ceased to be what is generally styled literature. In the ancient times of Greece and Rome, men studied and wrote for the sole pleasure of studying, and of knowing how to procure for themselves and others intellectual enjoyment. Literature was devoted to the search of truth; and so, he might have added, it has again become, professedly, at least, in the modern societies in which men write and study, precisely as if no such fact as that of the Christian revelation had ever occurred; but during the ages of faith it was quite otherwise. Within the sphere of divinity and morals, men studied no more in order to search

* Savedra, Christian Prince, I. 51. † Part I. c. 15.

for truth, and acquire knowledge; they wrote no more for the sake of writing. Writings and studies assumed a practical character. Men only sought to convert and regulate the purely speculative character of philosophy; as, independent of religion, poetry, letters, and arts had disappeared. From not having well seized this character of the period, a false idea of it has been generally formed, men have concluded that it was a time of apathy and moral sterility, without any development of intelligences. But it is an error to suppose, that there was then no intellectual activity. On the contrary, adds this writer, there was much; only it was under a different form, and tended to different results. It was an activity of application. One is astonished at regarding a world of writings which attest the ardour and fecundity of those ages, and which still constitute a real and rich literature *. The leaves of modern books are exactly like a Protestant country, or some barbarous region where the light of Christianity has never shone; where all is secularized, and every image of religion effaced, excepting what belongs to the idolizing of nature. The old books introduce us, as it were, into a Catholic country, where amidst beautiful woods and wild mountains, we find monasteries, and crosses, and holy images of saints, constantly reminding us of our heavenly country. Men talk of literature becoming religious, as if that was an indication of its decline; and yet without the sanctifying influence of religion, when has learning ever assumed an amiable or even a dignified character? "Postquam docti prodierunt, boni desinunt," said Seneca †, and Petrus Cellensis explains the invariable phenomenon connected with the manners of the learned, when he says, "Literatura sæcularis inflat, si illam caritas non reprimat ‡." But what a gracious tone did that charity impart to learning in the ages of faith? It is recorded of James, abbot of Villemoustier, in the eighth century, that if he ever heard one of his monks in reading place the accent on a wrong syllable, to spare the modesty of the reader, he never reprehended him at the time §. But not merely the style,

* Guizot, Cours d'Hist. Mod. Tom. II.

† Epist. II.

‡ Petri Abb. Cellens. Epist. Lib. IX. 7.

§ Historia Monasterii Villariensis, Lib. I. cap. 12, apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

the whole object and motives of learning were changed. "Quid tota series literarum aliud indicat, quam te ea quæ sursum sunt sapere, non quæ super terram?" says Peter the venerable abbot of Cluny, writing to his dearest brother Odo *. Mabillon shows that learning was to be cultivated with no other view but to render men more humble and charitable, more hidden to the eyes of men, and more sensible to the knowledge of God; more fervent to love him, and more diligent to serve him †. One was to study, but never in order to seem to be wiser or more learned than others ‡. One was to write, but not for the sake of being always able to boast like Demosthenes, that he came forward in literature and science, in politics and theology, *πρῶτος καὶ μόνος*. It was often necessary to use much persuasion to induce men to publish their works. There is a letter from the Monk Petrus Pictaviensis to Peter the venerable abbot of Cluni, exhorting him to this effect. "I know that I am very bold in daring thus to advise you, but I trust in your piety that it will pardon me. For beloved father, I fear not a little lest from declining all vanity in study you should wish too much to remain concealed under this intention You ought to take care, most discreet man, lest by avoiding the praise of men with too much caution, you omit those things for which the faithful servant in the Gospel deserved to be praised by the good householder. Consider, I beseech you, that if the holy fathers had written nothing formerly, but had only passed a good life in silence, they would not have gained such a multitude of people to God, nor would they have left with us such a sweet and celebrated memory The study of writing has always distinguished the abbots of Cluny from ancient times, so that if they do not write they have reason to blush for themselves as being degenerate and unworthy of their predecessors §." St. Anselm uses stronger language to encourage literary exertion. "There are some men," he observes, "ignorant sinfully, who say, what use to retain this little? I shall never become wise from so small a thing. All who are

* Epist. Lib. I. 13.
† Tractat. de Studiis Monasticis Præfat.
‡ De Imit. Lib. III. 53.
§ Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 620.

not learned will not perish. There are enough of wise men in the world, enough of learned writers. There is no need for me to fatigue myself: thus he speaks to his mind, and does not perceive that the ancient enemy suggests these things to him, that he may never study to be useful, that he may live in torpor and negligence, and so perish *." These men had but one object in their studies, " In doctrinis glorificate Dominum †," the supremacy of which continued to be recognised till the last; for the first efforts of engraving and printing were employed to aid religion, of which we see examples in the Biblia Pauperum, and the Speculum Salutis, and the editions of the Latin Bible by Fust. All the learning, even of the laity, during the middle ages, partook of this sacred character. Fleury mentions that the young Emperor Theodosius had a good library of ecclesiastical books, and used to converse with bishops, almost as if he had been one of their order ‡: and Christine de Pisan, says, that King Charles V. of France was really a philosopher, that is, a lover of wisdom. He was a true inquirer after high primary things, that is, of high theology, which is the term of wisdom, which is nothing else but the knowledge of God and of his high celestial virtues; he desired to be instructed in this by wise masters, and he caused many books of wise theologians to be translated, " et de théologie souvent vouloit oyr §."

The modern sophists condemn such learning in a prince, and require on the contrary that he should be instructed in the sciences of natural philosophy, as if a knowledge of botany or mineralogy were more conducive to perfect the art of wise government, than that of ethics and divinity, which would teach the end of all good government, the true interests of mankind, and what belongs to the various relations of men on the stage of the present life. How should the natural sciences constitute the proper learning for rulers, or legislators, or magistrates? Society is not in a better or worse condition for their opinion on physics being true or false; there are always men whom they may consult on such

* S. Anselmi de Similitudinibus, cap. 54.
† Isa. xxiv. 19.
‡ Mœurs des Chrest. 307.
§ Livre des Fais, &c. Part III. c. 3.

questions, but their error in religion or morals may involve whole generations in incalculable evils. The example of king Don Alonzo is adduced by Savedra to prove the inutility of science in a prince, for he knew how to correct the disorders of the heavens, but not those in his state; he who, by the force of his genius, could ascend to the height of the celestial orbs, was not able to preserve a kingdom and an hereditary crown. The Sultan of Egypt, ravished at so glorious a renown, sent ambassadors to him loaded with presents, and almost all the cities of Castille, in the heart of his kingdom, refused to obey him. The religious studies of the middle ages taught men how to govern themselves, and therefore enabled them to rule over others. Men would not have deemed it possible, during the ages of faith, that the fact of a religious direction having been given to the studies of the laity, could be adduced in subsequent times in evidence of their having been barbarians. They would have shrunk in contempt, as well as in displeasure, from any learning which was otherwise directed. Hæc et a pueritia legimus et discimus, they would have confidently replied to any objectors who should have proposed a different kind of learning. Hanc eruditionem liberalem et doctrinam putamus. This was the learning, not for the priest alone, but for all Christians in time past, who, while they occupy themselves with learning, "hanc amplissimam omnium artium benè vivendi disciplinam vitâ magis quam litteris persecuti sunt *." This was the learning of those masters of religion whom our ancestors revered, of whom we might justly say, in the words of the Roman orator, "that their wisdom seems to us so great, that those men are more than sufficiently prudent, who, we do not say follow their prudence, but who are able to perceive how great it was." Do men at present forget, that the reason, even of the ancient philosophers, would have dictated similar language? "Let us inquire what say the priests: for I confess that I am vehemently moved by the gravity of their answers, and by their one and constant voice. Neither am I that man who, if he should seem to be more than others versed in the study of letters, would take delight in or make any use what-

* Cicer. Tuscul. Liv. IV. 3.

ever of such letters as would tend to withdraw our minds from religion." This, you reply, is the language of some bigoted disciple, when education was the monopoly of the priesthood during the dark ages. Nay, most profound critic, they are the words of Cicero *.

But, even in a mere literary point of view, what was the character of the learning of the middle ages? Truly I do not see on what grounds the men of later times have reason to despise it. Philosophers enumerate three distempers of learning; the first, fantastical learning, the second contentious learning, and the last delicate learning: vain imaginations, vain altercations, and vain affections. Now I would ask these disparagers of the Christian school, whether, if we exclude these three kinds of learning, will there be found remaining such prodigious stores for the moderns to boast of, as to warrant their contempt for past ages? It is infinitely remarkable that Lord Bacon should have noticed this perversion of learning, as having been consequent upon what he calls the reformation: he admits that learning then became characterised by an affectionate study of eloquence: men began to hunt more after words than matter, and more after the choiceness of the phrase and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. Then grew the learning of the schoolmen to be despised as barbarous; then were Cicero and Demosthenes almost deified, and young men allured unto that delicate and polished kind of learning, which induced Erasmus to make the scoffing echo, "Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone," and the echo answered in Greek "ονε—ass †." Now whatever may have been the faults of the ancient learning, it at least never evinced the spirit or the tricks of the sophist or the pedant. "A good reader or student," says Vincent of Beauvais, "ought to be humble and mild, and ready to learn from all, and he never should presume on the ground of his knowledge, and he ought not to wish to seem to

* Orat. de Haruspicum Respons. 9.
† Advancement of learning.

be wise before the time, pretending to be what he is not, and ashamed to appear what he is. He ought not to condemn instantly whatever he does not understand. This should be the discipline of readers *. There are some," he continues, "who wish to read all things, but the number of books is infinite. Be not desirous of following where there is no end or rest, and therefore no peace; and where there is no peace God cannot dwell. Philosophy rejects a fastidious stomach, and invites the cheerful guest to a simple supper of few but good meats. There is a great difference between seeing the thing itself and only the books; for books are only poor monuments of knowledge, and contain only the principles for inquiry, which are to be pursued afterwards, and for that very purpose books are to be laid aside †." Mere book-learning distinguishes no great writer of the middle ages. "Some things which I have not found in books," says John of Salisbury, "from daily use and experience of things, as if from a certain history of manners, I have gathered ‡." The learning of the middle ages was Homeric, indicating personal acquaintance with men and things. Many of their great writers were themselves wanderers. Trithemius mentions a certain priest of Ireland, named Sedulius, a disciple from childhood of the Archbishop Hildebert, who might be said to represent them all, for he was a man exercised in the divine Scriptures, and most learned in literature, excelling in verses and prose, who left Ireland, passed into France and Italy, thence into Asia, and lastly, after visiting the shores of Achaia, returned to Rome, where he shone in admirable learning §. In the schools, indeed, were distinguished the superseminati, or those who were superficial, the pannosi, or those whose learning was all in scraps and collections of sentences, and the massati, or those who were solidly learned ‖; but even to the two former belonged the grace of humility, and the merit of a sound judgment, of which the proof may yet be witnessed in the collections made by them

* Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. I. cap. 28.
† Id. Lib. I. cap. 33.
‡ De Nugis Curialium, Lib. VII. Prologo.
§ In Lib. II. de Scriptoribus Eccles.
‖ Heuffel, Hist. Scholarum, 376.

which have come down to us, as well as in works of their own composition. The admirable Phillipe de Comines confesses that he is a man "who has no literature, mais quelque peu d'expérience et sens naturel," which the Abbé Gouget justly remarks, is worth far more than learning. A certain tone of noble simplicity, not unconnected with those manners of the feudal hearth, to which I before alluded, was observable in the writings of such men. It is this which seems so admirable in Joinville, and Froissart, and Olivier de la Marche, and a multitude of others, to whom the following distich of the poet Panormita, addressed to Leon Batista the Florentine, might with justice be applied by every judicious reader,

> "Cum placeas cunctis, raris pro dotibus, idem
> Tu mihi pro verâ simplicitate places."

One is struck also in all their compositions with that characteristic, which a distinguished critic of our times praises in Dante, that lively and respectful faith, that laical docility which reigns amidst the magnificent inventions of his imagination, and the boldest flights of genius. In general, the learning and style of the middle ages had a certain deep mysterious tone, unobtrusive, symbolical, and at an infinite distance from the pert familiarity and vulgar display which is so characteristic of modern literature. "This is the silliest stuff that ever I heard," says Hippolita of the play, to whom Theseus replies in words that express the genuine spirit of all their beautiful and profound compositions :

> "The best in this kind are but shadows :
> And the worst are no worse, if imagination amend them *."

But what could imagination do for the popular literature of the present age? Men in these days would have disdained the domestic familiar muse of Euripides, who, it was said, never wrote any thing but what all the world could understand and perceive at the first instant, and from whose dramas men could learn better skill even in the commonest matters of household economy. The muse of the middle ages was that of Æs-

* Midsummer Night's Dream, V. 1.

chylus, and critics, like him described by Aristophanes, might object to their style, "that it was not sufficiently clear and continuous, but that its expressions were only scamandars or trenches, or the insignia of shields, and broken words, which it were not easy to put together," like crosses and holy sepulchres, and hooded heads, shrines, vigils, dirges, nocturns, templars, and chivalry. The wise poet of antiquity, however, leaves the clear popular writer in the shades, and brings back the dark and solemn Æschylus, to save his country by the maxims of his wisdom *. With respect to books intended for general circulation, many historical works, of the most solid and practical philosophy, were composed in the middle ages, in a simple but condensed style, that united the brevity of Tacitus with the clearness of Livy. Such, for instance, was that history of the English schism, transferred to the Italian, with a truly Roman gravity, by Bernardo Davanzati, in the sixteenth century. That profound thinker and parsimonious speaker, who received from the academy of the Alterati the name of the Silent, was the first to show, in this curious history, that the language of Florence need yield to no other in brevity and weight. A most remarkable monument, though of a different kind, is the work which was composed by Paschasius Radbert, on the deeds of Wala, the Abbot of Corby, which, being written while the enemies of that holy man were alive, and during the reign of Charles the Bald, when it was dangerous to treat upon such a subject, fictitious names are employed, and the truth of history explained in the form of a dialogue, after the manner of Plato. Mabillon, who discovered this work, which he justly styles golden, in the library of St. Martin des Champs at Paris, inserted it in his Acts of the Benedictine Saints, where it stands an imperishable monument of the profound wisdom, the learning, the judgment, and the accurate knowledge of all human duties, combined with the deepest piety, which were possessed in the ninth century. Assuredly the author of this work stood in need of no useful knowledge that the men of our times could give him. Indeed, of the literary excellence of many writers of the middle ages some modern critics have had the courage to speak

* Aristoph. Ranæ.

with justice. Guizot, for instance, concludes his review of Alcuin's writings in these words: "I regret that I cannot enter more fully into the examination of these monuments of so active and distinguished a mind. I seem as if I had but taken a glance at them, and if they were made the subject of our profound study, we should reap, without doubt, pleasure and advantage. In fine, this appears to me to be the general character of Alcuin and his works. He is a theologian by profession; the atmosphere in which he lives, and the public to whom he addresses himself, are essentially theological; and yet the theological spirit does not alone reign in him: it is also towards philosophy and ancient literature that his thoughts and works are directed. These also he desires to study, to teach, and to revive. St. Jerome and St. Augustin are familiar to him, but Pythagoras, Aristotle, Aristippus, Diogenes, Plato, Homer, Virgil, Seneca, and Pliny, are also in his memory. The greatest part of his writings is theological, but mathematics, astronomy, dialectics, and rhetoric occupy him habitually. It is a monk, a deacon, the light of the contemporary church, but at the same time it is a scholar, and a classical scholar. We see united in him an admiration, a taste, or rather a regret for the ancient literature, and the sincerity of Christian faith, the ardour to illustrate its mysteries and to defend its power." Of what learned and profound men might not the universities have boasted at their very commencement? What erudition appeared in the works of Gerson, John Raulin, Biel, Clavasius, and of innumerable others at Paris? in other universities, what great Platonists were beheld in Marsilius Fiscinus, Hermolaus Barbarus, and Picus of Mirandula? What great astronomers in the Cardinal Cusa, George Purbach, Regio Montanus, and Walter? What Grecians and poets in Merula, the two Strozzas, the two Philelphes? What Latinists and poets in Mapheus Vegius, whom some compared to Virgil, Andrelinus, who composed such beautiful eclogues, Ugolinus, who celebrated the victories of Charlemagne, Ravisius Textor, the author of that fine dialogue between the Pilgrim and Death, Collatius, who sung the calamities of Jerusalem? What sacred orators in Maillard and Menot, the Franciscan friar, who declaimed in French against the scandals of their age? What profane ora-

tors in Jean Lefevre, who so eloquently defended an unfortunate prince? What historians in Paulus Emilius, the canon, who wrote a history of France in Latin, Robert Gaguin, who wrote a Latin history of the French monarchy, the two Chartiers, John and Alain, Froissart, and Monstrellet, Juvenal des Ursins, Mathieu Coucy, Le Bouvier, Nicole Gilles, Jehan de Troyes? What philologists in Annius, Urceus-Codrus, Angelo Politien, Beroaldus Brant, Alexander Min, respecting whose birthplace noble cities disputed? What lexicographers in Ambrose Calepin and Stephens? What grammarians in Valla, Lully, Niger, Sulpitius, Perotus, Tiphernes, Hermonius, Lascaris, Chrisoloras, Capnion, Andronicus, Dalmata, for whom kings and republics contended? What civilians in Alciatus, Chopinus, Corvinus, Marculfus? In fine, what universal geniuses, of whom Alphonso Tostatus, the Spanish divine, was so eminent an example, that he merited the epitaph,—

"Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discutit omne."

Examine the literature of these ages during any period, and take, for example, that which was produced in France alone from the fifth to the tenth century, and, as far as relates to the choice of subjects, it will be found more noble and philosophic, more conformable to the idea of literature, in the sense of Plato and Cicero, and of the ancients generally, than even that of the nineteenth, with its libraries of novels, memorials of robbers and of persons of profligate renown, and catechisms to teach children political economy and arithmetic. In the fifth century there flourished in France, Sulpicius Severus, who wrote the life of St. Martin of Tours, a sacred history, and dialogues respecting the monks of the East; Evargrus, who wrote disputations between Theophilus, a Christian, and Simon, a Jew, and a dialogue between Zachæus, a Christian, and Apollonius, a philosopher; St. Paulin, Bishop of Nola, who wrote epistles and poems, and a discourse upon alms; Cassien, of Provence, who wrote a treatise upon monastic institutions, and conferences upon the monastic life; Palladius, of Poitiers, who wrote a poem upon agriculture; St. Prosper, of Aquitaine, who wrote a poem upon grace, and a chronicle or universal history; Mamert Claudien, of Vienne, who

wrote a treatise on the nature of the soul, the hymn of the Passion, Pange lingua; Salvien, who wrote a treatise against avarice, and another on the government of God; Sidonius Apollinarus, Bishop of Clermont, who wrote poems and epistles; Faustus, who wrote a treatise on grace, and letters on points of philosophy and theology; Gennade, of Provence, who wrote a catalogue of illustrious men, and a treatise on ecclesiastical doctrines; Pomœrius, of Arles, who wrote a treatise on the contemplative life, and a treatise on the nature of the soul; St. Ennodius, of Arles, who wrote a panegyric of Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, a life of St. Epiphanius, letters, poems, and theological tracts; St. Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, who composed two sublime religious poems, besides epistles and sermons; St. Cæsarius, of Arles, who wrote a treatise on grace and free-will, and sermons; St. Cyprian, of Arles, who wrote the life of St. Cæsarius; St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours, who wrote the ecclesiastical history of the Francs, on the glory of the martyrs, on the glory of confessors, lives of the fathers, and many theological works; Marius, of Autun, who wrote a chronicle; Josephus, of Touraine, who wrote a history of the Jews; St. Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, who composed sacred and profane poems, and lives of the saints; St. Columban, Abbot of Luxeuil, who composed poems, homilies, letters, and theological tracts; Marculfus, who wrote a collection of formula or models of public acts; Fredegaire, of Burgundy, who wrote a chronicle; Jonas, Abbot of St. Amand, who wrote the life of St. Columban; St. Ouen, Archbishop of Rouen, who wrote the life of St. Eloi; St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence, who wrote theological works, sermons, and letters; Alcuin, Abbot of St. Martin of Tours, who wrote commentaries upon the Scriptures, philosophical and literary works, poems, and letters; Angilbert, Abbot of St. Riquier, who composed poems, and a history of his monastery; Leidrade, Archbishop of Lyons, who wrote theological works, and letters; Smaragdus, Abbot of St. Michael, who wrote treatises on morals, commentaries on the New Testament, and a great grammar; St. Benet, Abbot of Aniane, who wrote the code of monastic rules, and theological works; Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans, who wrote instructions on the schools, poems, and theological tracts; Adalhard, who wrote the Statutes of

Corbie, letters, and a treatise, De ordine Palatii; Dungal, of Ireland, a recluse of St. Denis and a poet, who wrote upon eclipses; Halitgaire, who wrote a penitential, and a treatise on the life and duties of priests; Ansegisus, Abbot of Fontenelle, who collected the capitularies of Charlemagne and Louis-le-Debonnaire, in four books; Friedgres, Abbot of St. Martin of Tours, who wrote a philosophic treatise upon nothingness and darkness, and poems; Ermold the Black, Abbot of Aniane, who wrote a poem on the life and deeds of Louis-le-Debonnaire; Amalaire, of Metz, who wrote a rule for canons, and a treatise on ecclesiastical offices; Eginhard, who wrote the life of Charlemagne, annals, and letters; Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, who wrote poems and theological treatises; Hilduin, Abbot of St. Denis, who wrote upon the patron of that abbey; Doane, Duchess of Septimania, who wrote a manual of counsels to her son; Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, who wrote a treatise on the institution of Laïcs, and on the institution of a king; St. Ardon Smaragdus, who wrote the life of St. Benet; Theganus, of Treves, who wrote the life of Louis-le-Debonnaire; Walfried Strabo, Abbot of Reichenau, who wrote a commentary on the whole Bible, the life of St. Gall, poems, one of which was descriptive, entitled, Hortulus, and several theological treatises; Freculfus, Bishop of Lisieux, who wrote a history of the world; Angelome, monk of Luxeuil, who wrote commentaries on the Bible; Raban-Maur, Archbishop of Mayence, who wrote fifty-one works of theology, philosophy, philology, chronology, and letters; Nithard, Duke of Maritime France, and monk of St. Riquier, who wrote the history of the dissensions of the sons of Louis-le-Debonnaire; Florus, of Lyons, who wrote theological treatises on grace, poems, and a complaint on the dismemberment of the empire after Louis-le-Debonnaire; St. Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, who wrote on grace; Loup, Abbot of Ferriers, who wrote on the same, and also a history of the emperors; Paschasius Radbert, Abbot of Corbie, who wrote upon the Eucharist, and composed the lives of Wala and Adalhard; Ratramnus, who wrote on the Eucharist and on grace; Gottschalk, who wrote on grace; Otfried, monk at Weisembourg, who wrote a paraphrase on the Gospels in verse; Milon, monk at St. Amand, who wrote poems, one upon sobriety, and a

pastoral entitled, the Combat of Winter and Spring; John Scot Erigenus, who wrote upon philosophy and upon grace, and the division of nature; Usuard, monk of St. Germain-des-Pres, who wrote a martyrology; St. Remi, Archbishop of Lyons, who wrote upon grace and free-will; St. Adon, Archbishop of Vienne, who wrote upon religion, and a universal history; Isaac, Bishop of Langres, who made a collection of canons; Hery, who wrote the life of St. Germain of Auxerre, in verse; Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who wrote theological treatises, and political works; the Monk of St. Gall, who wrote the life of Charlemagne; Remi, monk of St. Germain of Auxerre, who wrote a commentary on the Bible, and commentaries on the ancient grammarians and orators; Abbon, monk of St. Germain-des-Pres, who composed a poem on the siege of Paris by the Normans in 885; Hucbald, monk of St. Amand, who wrote poems and lives of the saints; St. Odon, Abbot of Cluny, who wrote theological treatises, poems, and a life of St. Gregory of Tours; Frodoard, who wrote poems, and a history of the church of Rheims; Helperic, who wrote a treatise on the computation of time in relation to the ecclesiastical calendar; John, Abbot of St. Arnoul at Metz, who wrote lives of saints, and the history of John of Verdière, Abbot of Gorze, in which he relates his embassy into Spain to Abderam, Caliph of Cordova; Adson, Abbot of Montieren-Der, who wrote the treatise on Anti-Christ, which was so celebrated; Arnoul, Bishop of Orleans, who wrote De Cartilagine, being an essay on anatomical studies; Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II., who wrote works on mathematics and philosophy, on theology, poems, and epistles, which showed that the activity of men of learning was not abated by the prevailing opinion that the world was then about to perish, as the tenth century drew to its close.

Literature has been said to be the expression of society: that of the ages of faith was thus holy and historical. Has it, on moral and philosophical grounds, any reason to fear a comparison with our own? Men may have wanted the critical sagacity that could always detect imposture, and disengage the real facts of a narrative from what credulity and exaggeration had superinduced; but insincerity can never be laid to their charge. They wrote, in regard to truth, like Fleury, of whom Chateau-

briand says, he would rather die than be guilty of a falsehood. What Montaigne says of himself, applies perhaps to every author,—that he does not more make his book than his book makes him: and on this principle, an acquaintance with the books of the middle ages would lead us to conclude, that those who wrote them were among the holiest and the wisest men that ever lived in the tide of times. Besides these original works, the collections which were made during the middle ages, and the choice of authors, which we find invariably to have been formed with the soundest judgment, and in which the men of greatest science in our days have nothing to change, prove them to have possessed judicious and solid, as well as extensive learning. Such were those vast compilations of which the Margarita Philosophica, by an anonymous author, and the Speculum Naturale and Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais, are examples, forming an abridgment of all the branches of human knowledge. The compilation of moral and theological sentences, like those of the Abbot Eugipius and Louis of Blois, indicate prodigious research, and a true perception of literary beauty. That spiritual and affecting book, which was published at one time as the manual of St. Augustin, and at another as that of St. Anselm, or of Hugues de Saint-Victor, was, in fact, composed by some writer of the middle ages, whose name is unknown. The same is true respecting the book entitled the Soliloquies of St. Augustin, which was written subsequent to the year 1198, as is inferred from the author having inserted in it sentences from the first chapter of the fourth Council of Lateran, held in that year. We have seen in a former place that the ascetical writers of the middle age wrote only to edify the faithful, and had no ambition to win the glory of writing well. "The rumour prevalent here," says Louis of Blois, "that the number of the heretics is daily increasing, has compelled me to treat on these matters more at length. Henceforth I have determined on writing and publishing nothing, since I have to prepare myself for a salutary death: the world is already full of books *." Concealing their names as well as their lives, they made no scruple of availing themselves of what others had said before them, when they judged that it was better than

* Ludovicus Blosius, Epist. ad Florentium.

what they could themselves say, seeking in every thing only the greater glory of God. The author of the Manuel, indeed, in his Preface declares, that it is only a collection of remarkable sentences from the holy Fathers.

Even on scientific subjects, men made a right choice of ancient authors, and had the no small merit of being able to distinguish what writers possessed the greatest merit. In the middle ages, Dioscorides and Pliny were the only authors consulted for botany and the composition of medicines, and Galen was the great authority and guide of physicians, insomuch that Cardan advises his pupil, when asked any irrelevant question by a patient, to reply, that Galen forbids him to answer that question,—as if the weight of his name was quite sufficient to put any one to silence. Now Baron Cuvier says, that Galen is the only natural philosopher of antiquity who deserves to be placed at the side of Aristotle. In ages of faith it was not overlooked, that the anatomical and physiological writings of this great man are composed in a spirit of profound piety, that he begins by invoking the Creator, and never loses an occasion of leading his reader to consider the final Cause in the wonderful construction of the human frame. What penetration did men evince in revering Plato for having taught that the soul was an emanation from the divinity! How little reason have the moderns to ridicule them for so admiring Aristotle, that they would always lift their cap when he was named! Baron Cuvier declares, that he never reads the Natural History of that philosopher without being filled with astonishment at his genius and observation. The first complete Latin translation of Aristotle was given in the thirteenth century by Michael Scot, who had studied in Spain with the Arabs. It is not to be denied, however, but that of the phantastic learning there were unhappily some examples, in the very ages when it was most clearly denounced, and therefore, when it ought to have been regarded with the greatest aversion. Who has not read somewhat of those strange retired old men, who thought that in Nature's infinite book of secrecy a little they could read,—who, in subterraneous vaults, worked incessantly at what was called the great work, those blowers and alchemists,—among whom poor Nicolas Flamel was unjustly reckoned by posterity,—and who, notwithstanding all their follies, used to be sup-

ported by the alms of some devout though weak persons? or of those mysterious inhabitants of the cloister, like that clerk of fame who had studied in Padua, far beyond the sea, regarded on his return with such dubious reverence,—

> "As when in studious mood he paced
> St. Andrew's cloistered hall?"

Gillebert, Abbot of St. Bertin's at St. Omer, was accused, by a proud disobedient prior whom he had deposed, of being an alchemist. John of Ypres, who wrote the chronicle of that abbey, says, that he has been present when the Abbot Alelmus proved the metal, of which certain candelabras and vases were composed that had been made and given by Abbot Gillebert, and that they were found to be of alchemic silver. Gillebert used to be called the golden abbot, from the splendour of his works. "And since I have alluded to alchemy," says John of Ypres, "I entreat all and each one never to apply their mind to this art. For this art promises beautiful things, and gives few: it strongly attracts and fascinates men, and many are deceived by it. Trust one who has experience,—for I who write this was deceived by it, and I have seen many similarly deceived. Nor have I ever seen any one who has attained to the true work which is of itself probable, for the principles of this art do not agree with the principles of nature. Also, its end is plainly defective, nor does a metal become good by it: witness Albert, in his book entitled Semita Recta, which he composed on this art, in which he says, 'By this mode gold is made better than all that which is extracted from the mines of the earth, in weight, and colour, and fusibility, ductability, and malleability; excepting that, as alchemic iron is not attracted by the loadstone, so alchemic gold does not cure the leprosy, nor by means of it is the heart of man made glad, and the wound which it makes swells, because it is not the gold of God.' These are the words of Albert*." Christine de Pisan mentions, that "the wise King Charles, who singularly delighted in all men of science, heard that, towards Avignon, there was a speculative clerk who led a life of phi-

* Chronicon S. Bertini, cap. 49, Pars X. apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

losophy, and worked with great subtilty in the art of alchemie, in which it was said he had already attained to many fine and notable points. The said clerk had been a disciple of Master Arnault de Villeneuve, who was a very solemn man in science, and who, it was said by some, had attained to the philosopher's stone. The king, who desired to see all subtil things, wrote to him that he wished him to come to him, and that he would reward him well. The clerk in his letters, written in very fine Latin, thanked the king humbly for the honour which he paid to him unworthy; but in sooth, as he was a solitary man, speculative, and of strange manners, he was not fit to appear at court: he had no flattering accents on his tongue; he was too much at ease in repose, in leading a poor life, eating roots and leaves, and speculating in philosophy: as he was not covetous of others' riches, there was no delight or wealth which could induce him to lose the repose and pleasure of speculation. The king sent him a message to say, that he did not wish to deprive him of his repose, but to increase it if he could; and that, although God had given to him the charge of the office of temporal rule, his inclination and his desires were not bent upon hearing lying flatteries which are thus offered to princes, but to search into the points of truth and virtue. The clerk, seeing the benignity of the king, came to Paris, where the king received him with great honours, and heard him speak. He remained a short time, and then returned with many fine gifts *."

Modern science is indebted for the knowledge of many important facts to these indefatigable and mysterious inquirers of the middle age. Though employed in occult, and therefore in sinful occupations, they were not without some influence, from the devout spirit of their times. "The chemical philosopher," says Sir Humphrey Davy, "should resemble the modern geometricians in the greatness of his views and the profoundness of his researches, and the ancient alchemists in industry and piety, in keeping his mind awake to devotional feelings, that in becoming wiser he may become better." If I did not fear to tire and offend the reader, I could relate some strange discoveries or professed inventions connected

* Livre des Faits, &c. III. c. 22.

with these forbidden studies. Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, Petrus Loyerus, Renodeus, Gregorius Tholosanus, Cardan, Capocchio, and many others, who thought that men might ape creative nature by a subtil art, recal sad examples of misdirected study. But it sufficeth to name them: we shall have occasion in a future place to speak of the superstitions of those ages, when there will be more excuse for citing Arbatell. For the present, let us follow the example of the Lady of Branksome, and send back the book to Michael's grave.

It must be admitted that the sciences formed not the most favourite branch of study during the middle ages. As with the Spartans of old, the teacher who won most admiration, was not one who lectured upon the stars and the movements of the heavens, upon geometry, or the science of numbers, upon the power of letters and syllables, rythms and harmony of accent,—but it was one fond of antiquity like Virgil, who spake of the generation of heroes and men, of the founding of colonies, and of the first establishment of cities, and in general, as Plato adds, *πάσης τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας* *. Religion gave to history and to moral philosophy a charm and an importance which the natural sciences could never possess; and that is one reason why Catholic studies are generally so much more occupied with the former than with the latter, while those who pursue their opposite, having comparatively no interest in Christian history, which they are incapable of understanding in consequence of their false position, and finding but little encouragement from the ancient philosophers of the Socratic or Pythagorean school, who, with the original traditions of mankind, are all against them, naturally direct their genius to the pursuit of the exact sciences, in which they find nothing contrary to the state of mind in which it is convenient for them to continue. The mind of man, as Aristotle says, is naturally formed to embrace truth †; so that when that which is more immediately divine as theological, is denied or rendered unattainable, it endeavours to supply the deficiency by scientific truth, by research into the causes and nature of material things. The heretics and schismatics in early ages, were known to apply with diligence to the natural sciences, as was witnessed in the

* Hippias Major. † Arist. Metaphysic. Lib. I. cap. 1.

Nestorians, who first propagated the science of the Greeks among the Persians, and other oriental nations. In later ages they have not been wanting in similar application to the study of the sciences; and in cultivating the Greek and Roman literature their efforts have been unwearied. The Church, from the first ages, has been accustomed to see genius and learning in the ranks opposed to her. Even after Christianity had acquired a complete victory, among the Greeks at least, the heathen party was still distinguished by the most commanding talents: it could boast of men worthy of very high admiration, whether we regard the extent of their learning or the elegance of their compositions. With respect to the witnesses, whose profession would lead us to suppose that they now, as formerly, came forward to accuse the wisdom of the ages of faith, I would not involve all in one similar sentence. There are in that number many learned and humane men, who would shrink from such charges, and gladly suppose themselves Catholics without the supposed humiliation of a Palinode, many impudent, illiterate, light men, who come forward as in the days of Luther and the Puritans, to sustain them. But this I do say of all kinds of protestors,—I ascribe science and classical learning to them: I concede the discipline of many arts: I do not deny them elegance of language, the sentiments that belong to noble birth, penetration of genius, and abundant eloquence. Finally, if they claim many other merits, I do not object;—but the learning of Christian antiquity, and the humility which casts down all high thoughts, and brings them into captivity to faith, —that race never cultivated. They cannot have the same encouragement to pursue Christian learning; for their labours must be intended to serve a party, or at the most, some one nation, whose theologico-political system they defend: whereas, the Catholic student had the infinite satisfaction of being able to consider himself one of an immense army spread over the entire earth, consisting of men who, without having ever seen each other, were all directing their respective abilities to serve, not any particular sect, or government, or nation, or rank of society, but the sacred cause of the universal Church. Moreover, learning in them would only serve to develope more strikingly the inconsistency of their system; for they

could not but admire the writings of the men with whom it would make them acquainted; and how painful would it be to imitate the inconsistency of those who eulogize Thomas à Kempis, and Fenelon, and St. Bernard, and others, without withdrawing the charge against the Church to which they belonged! Unhappily, some of their number have been tempted to claim possession of such men with consistency, by means of altering or diminishing the truths which they deliver, publishing St. Frances de Sales' Introduction to a Devout Life, corrected, as they say, from the errors of the Popish edition,—as if he had been originally one of their authors,—and cutting off the fourth book, of the Imitation of Christ, not perceiving that without that last part the three former are, in a theological, and even philosophic sense, inexplicable. Famous in the annals of literary deceit was the crime of Hiobus, a Lutheran, who, in the year 1528, published an edition of the book of Paschasius, Abbot of Corby, on the Eucharist, not only omitting whole chapters, but also adding and foisting in words and sentences of his own, in order to make that holy writer appear to speak his sentiments; but his perfidy was exposed by Nicolas Mameranus, who published, in 1550, at Cologne, an edition of the real work *. "They who contrive how to propagate heresy under another name," says Vincent of Lerins, "choose generally the writings of some ancient man, more obscurely set forth, which, by the very obscurity of its doctrine, may seem to agree with their own, so that whatever they propound, it may appear as if they were neither the first nor the only persons who think so; whose wickedness I deem worthy of double hatred, both because they do not fear to give the heretical poison to others to drink, and also because they fan, with a profane hand, as it were, the quiet ashes of some holy man, defaming his memory, and perpetuating, by revived publicity, what ought to be buried in silence †." In some instances indeed, this conduct may have arisen merely from a weakness which attaches itself to human nature, such as led the Turks formerly to maintain that Orlando was a Turk, from his

* Mabillon, Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. Benedict. Pars II.

† Vincent. Lerinens. Com. cap. 40.

renown having passed into Colchus, where it is more known than that of Jason and the Argonauts *. But this mode of appropriating intellectual riches, is foreign from the inheritance of the meek, and can have no security; while on the other hand, imperfect or ambiguous sentences were not a sufficient ground for them to abandon their claims to great writers as having been in error, but, according to the advice of Facundus, they were warranted in interpreting, in a better sense, the writings of all learned men who were gone before in the peace of the Church †. Even without literary fraud, the learning of these proud choosers was often employed in self-deception and in misleading others; for "he only reads with profit," says St. Hilary, "who expects the sense of the things said from the words, and does not impose it upon them,—who does not force that to seem to be contained in the words, which before reading he had presumed was to be understood ‡." In attempting to explain what was the doctrine of the Church, they worked at hazard, and without any judgment: respecting the Trinity, they would as soon have consulted the writers who had opposed Pelagius as they would have studied St. Athanasius, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustin, and St. Fulgentius, for the doctrine of grace, forgetting that, although the anti-Nicene or the Greek Fathers did not think differently from the Catholic Church, still, not being obliged by circumstances to treat upon those questions, they only allude to them in passing, and with less precision. In describing the doctrines and customs of Catholics, these modern historians wrote with as much knowledge as Tacitus evinced respecting those of the Jews, which he designates as sordid, detestable, and absurd §. They were betrayed into the most palpable inconsistencies, so as to speak in admiration of the solid piety of the founders of their ancient colleges in times of what they termed Popish superstition. Wondrous is the force of truth, cries Petrus Cellensis, which takes captive the adversaries unwilling and unaware, and drives them on to the snares of an unavoidable conclusion, when

* Huet, de l'Origine des Romans, 37.

† Facundus Hermianensis, Lib. IX. de tribus Capitulis 5.

‡ S. Hilar. Lib. I. de Trinitate.

§ Hist. Lib. V.

they are taken and entangled in their own words, speaking truth unintentionally, and expressing with their lips what they do not feel in their heart *. Indeed, their endless concessions and panegyrics, in the same breath with the most unjust and horrible imputations, seem so like a total loss of intellectual conscience, that one ought to be less shocked at the old catalogue of epithets in use with the illiterate, or with the raving Burtons of old, than at these eulogiums. Meanwhile, the more noble adversaries of the Church, who scorn all dishonourable methods of appropriating intellectual glories, feeling such a sense of their poverty in respect to theological studies, are induced to substitute opinions and speculations for a study of tradition.

Truly, in their histories of the Church, it is curious to see how soon they find themselves painfully struggling amidst rocks and sands, and with what signs of pleasure they escape to the passes where a heathen's discourse would flow as smoothly as their own. These modern philosophic historians of the Church insensibly fall into a style as ridiculous as that of the pedant in Molière, who says, "You ought not to say I beg your advice, but I seem to beg it." With them there is never any thing, but, it would seem, as if all their confidence were reserved for repeating the detected falsifications of a Robertson †. Even those who have a tone of sincerity, dwell only on the reasons for doubt, and conceal all the proof of truth, and thus reconcile themselves to clear and certain falsehood. Lord Bacon himself remarked, that "when a doubt is once received, men labour rather how to keep it a doubt still than how to solve it, and accordingly bend their wits. But that use of wit and knowledge is to be allowed which laboureth to make doubtful things certain, and not those which labour to make certain things doubtful ‡." To combat these wilful doubters is the task prescribed to Bellerophon, to destroy Χίμαιραν ἀμαιμακέτην §. There is more of unfolding the sails of an oration with them than of labouring at the oars of dialectics. Even the sententious Tacitus becomes loquacious when an occasion

* Epist. Lib. VI. 23.

† Library of Useful Knowledge. Hist. of the Church.

‡ Advancement of learning.

§ Hom. Il. VI. 179.

offers of calumniating the Christians. They will always have the last word, and charity need not render the meek anxious to deprive them of this melancholy privilege. It belongs to the nature of man's reasoning faculty, that he should be able to protract disputation without end, and this ability is unopposed when there are no fixed principles, or when those which have been produced as fixed, may be changed and dissolved in a moment, as the success of those who produced them may require. In general, the learning of the adversaries only furnishes them with negations. Do they seem at length to take up a position? On your advance, they involve it in a mist of unintelligible phraseology, and you will hear them singing the pæon of victory. Methinks, like the old symbolical knight, who encounters the magical adversaries, the Catholic should only make the sign of the cross and pass on. Nor is it even necessary to have learning to remain unmoved at their bold propositions. They may appear to have an exact knowledge of an infinite number of minute facts, so as to know the shepherd better than if they were of the fold, for men in ignorance always affect to be very particular, like the traveller in Plautus, who, while pretending to come from Asia, where he had never been, replies to one who asked whether Arabia is in Pontus,—

> "Est: non illæc, ubi thus gignitur,
> Sed ubi absinthium fit, atque cunila Gallinacea*."

These graphic triflers light upon a false date, or a hasty and ambiguous word, and instantly rejoice like a hungry lion, who stumbles upon some great carcase of a stag or goat, and he will fasten upon it although the swift dogs and keen hunters are close to him: and so does the sectarian critic rejoice when he sees with his eyes something that will satisfy his appetite for censure and for doubt. This discovery, he thinks, will justify the schism of his ancestors; this inference will prove that the Church has fallen. "Quis illas conclusiunculas non rideat, quibus literatihomines se simul et alios fatigant?" As Tertullian says of the demon in pagan times, who employed against Christians both truth and falsehood,

* Trinum. IV. 2.

" Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsa veritate constructa sunt *." These polemic and historic compositions resemble those which Glaucus describes, being formed of sentences exactly balanced and symmetrical, in harmony with each other, and having the same tone, according to the art of the sophists in accumulating genitive and other accordant sounds †. Plausible books men may compose from ancient writings, by committing faults against the letter and sense of the text, by the addition, suppression, and change of words, by the change of punctuation, by suppressions of phrases in the text, such as conceal what is necessary for understanding the author, which leave only a part known, suppressions of explanations, limitations, and essential exceptions, by extracts which make an author say what he never said, but the contrary to what he said, by extracts which unite what ought to be separate, and which separate what ought to be united, by unfaithful statements, essential omissions in the recital of facts, by assertions which are false, or hazarded without proof, by acts given falsely as authentic, by extracts which have no relation to the title, by translations in violation of grammar, by alterations of sense in words, by addition, omission, transposition, and change, by treacherous expressions, contradictory to sense, redundant, deficient, inapplicable, malignant. By these and other kinds of falsification they may maintain the system of the moderns, and so still repeating their despiteful song, condemn and vilify catholic writers, but as Louis of Blois observes, in his mild and penetrating style, " though they may say a great deal, and persuade many with specious words and vain eloquence, yet those who are truly humble, that is, who are humble in heart, they cannot seduce ‡." Meanwhile, there is nothing in the success of such labours to be compared to the pure and tranquil recompence of the meek; there is nothing to conciliate esteem for the writer, even from the gentler spirits of his own party; he may have evinced sagacity, quickness, and diligence, but the muse of every clime rejects him; he is not an enemy, like Pandarus, to whom Apollo himself gave

* Apolog. † Plato de Repub. VI.
‡ Epist. ad Florentium.

his bow *. Those on his side may feel often tempted to entreat him, in the words which Bacchus addresses to the frogs, of whose monotonous chorus he is weary,

"ἀλλ', ὦ φιλῳδὸν γένος, παύσασθε †."

confined and fettered at every step in the career of letters, he is deprived of the enjoyment of books that are most venerable and admirable, and compelled to resign to the meek the rich inheritance of the ancient Christian literature. At the same time, he may not be ignorant of any event in ecclesiastical history, for the most insensible and destitute may have read every thing. King Assuerius, having ordered Mardochæus to be fixed to the cross, and being unable to sleep that night, ordered that histories and the annals of former times should be read to him ‡. What history or book of annals have not the modern adversaries of the Catholic church read, while crucifying the Son of God afresh? Let it be remarked too, that an acquaintance with the literary productions of the adversaries is unquestionably far from being essential to a learned Catholic, but that the converse does not hold with regard to their interest in Catholic literature. Mihi quidem, I might reasonably say, in the words of Cicero, "nulli satis eruditi videntur, quibus nostra ignota sunt §;" or, as he remarks of Plato and other Socratic philosophers, that they are read by all persons, even by those who do not assent to them, whereas no one ever takes in his hands Epicurus and Metrodorus, unless it be one of their immediate disciples ||, we also may appeal to the fact that all persons read the Catholic philosophers, while no one ever hears of Taylor or Jewell, unless it be within the immediate circle of their sect. I omit to speak of the ignoble crew, whose learning consists in the ridicule of holy things, in holding them up to the eyes of flesh, and concealing their relation to faith and to a supernatural existence. Ah, that noble spirits should be joined to such a rout! Where licence of that description is permitted, there is nothing so easy as to write books that will seem

* Il. II. 27.
† Aristoph. Ran. 240.
‡ Liv. Esther. cap. VI.
§ De finibus, I.
|| Tuscul. Lib. II. 3.

to indicate imagination, sagacity, and genius; and the temptation is too strong for modern authors, to whom therefore the chronicles of the ages of faith are a mine of inestimable value, which they are incessantly working, with a diligence commensurate with their vanity or their avarice. To refrain from examining such productions is no real diminution of the inheritance of the meek, and certainly they should refrain. "It seems to me," says St. Augustin, "that studious and ingenuous youths, fearing God and seeking the happy life, should never dare to approach and follow confidently any doctrines which are exercised without the church of Christ, but should learn to judge them soberly and diligently, and that they should reject utterly and detest some things through suspicion of those who are in error, and that they should keep their studies separate, at a distance from the superfluous and luxurious institutions of men*." Who is ignorant that a new and most dangerous crew of writers has arisen in those professed historians and antiquarians of the French school, who have succeeded to the Ducanges, Mabillons, and Martenes, men who are Catholics in name and heretics in spirit, solemn libertines, followers of Epicurus, who with the body make the spirit die, of whose writings there is not a page that would not have served to Plato as a specimen of the sophist's style, so far poetical that it would entitle them to use the language which Hesiod ascribes to the muses.

"ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα·"

though not perhaps to complete the sentence,

"ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι†."

The superficial and frivolous nature of these compositions is illustrative of the justice of Aristotle's sentence, that "it is the breast which makes men learned;" but the effects which are produced continually by their diffusion, might make men sigh for the comparative security from imposition which readers formerly possessed, when even the wisest and most learned men, like Mabillon, would not have presumed to publish any writing

* De Doctrina Christiana, Lib. II. 39.

† Theogon.

without the consent of superiors, and when other means were placed at every one's disposal of knowing the real value of particular works, besides what might be inferred from the authority of a company of traders, whose sole estimation of the excellence of a book depended on the supply of money which it would bring them. Books formerly, as well as persons, were canonised, that is, were admitted into the class of approved and authentic works. This usage of the word seems more ancient with the Greeks, for we find in St. Athanasius and others, the expression *τὰ κανωνιζόμενα βιβλία*. In the year 1308, the pope replied to the Friar Minors who desired a change in their rule, "that the rule of St. Francis was canonized, and that he did not wish to violate it." Infamous books were burned by the Apostles. It would be strange if they who were not to receive into their houses any one who brought not apostolic doctrine *, were allowed by the same law to accept their serpent books. St. Isidore says, "that to read impious books is the same thing as to offer incense to the demon; and theologians demonstrate from history that the holy Church in every age has exercised jurisdiction in prohibiting their perusal †." Hence the books of the Arians, Manichæans, Priscillians, Pelagians, and Albigenses are no longer to be found, because they did not contain those doubtful things which men were to prove by inquiry. The liberty of St. Jerome was compatible with his own maxim, "that it was better to be ignorant of some things than to learn with danger ‡;" and where the error and danger were self-evident, Muratori says that it was due to the republic to pronounce sentence against books intrepidly, without further hearing §. But to return to the learning of the avowed and less dangerous adversaries of the Church.

Having substituted speculation for the knowledge of facts, there is no longer occasion for the erudition which would be employed in explaining the latter. They are sufficiently skilful to be able to invent explanations for most difficulties, that would be only rendered more em-

* 1 Joan I. 10.

† Ligorio Theolog. append. III. de prohibitione libror. Joan. Devoti Instit. Canon. Lib. IV. 7.

‡ S. Hier. Reg. Monach.

§ De Ingen. Moder. Lib. II. c. 5.

barrassing by a greater portion of learning. When the Catholics appeal to history and to tradition for the truth of faith, the objector may feel for a moment at a loss, but he soon recovers himself, without the aid of learning, and replies in words, like those of the sophist of old to Socrates, "It is not difficult to find the solution of what you demand. I know very well, that if I were to be alone for a short time, and to look into myself, I could explain this to you, I could speak on this point to you clearer than all clearness." "I am convinced, indeed," replies Socrates, "that you will find this easily when you are alone." "It is just so: not at this present moment, but as I have said, when I shall have considered the point, I know well that I shall find the proper answer *." A question, however, more important would be, will it seem satisfactory to him when on death-bed laid? for that is the moment which gives a value to all learning and to all pains. Will it be found a judicious reply when called upon to answer, not in a school of men, but before God's tribunal, before him who gave so clear a command, and who vouchsafed so infallible a guide to truth? At present, who does not mark that even worldly interests enter to increase his difficulties, and Demosthenes says, "In deliberations when money is added to either side, as if placed in one scale of a balance, it sinks that down, and drags reason along with it; and he who does this is then incapable of reasoning soundly and justly upon any question †." Hereafter we must all, for one great day at least, become good logicians.

But we have wandered too far upon the domains of this modern literature, and mine art with warning bridle checks me. We have been drawn on to behold the nakedness of that desolated region, and we may well weep on leaving it. Yet, not in order wantonly to offend and afflict those among whom are many a spirit allied to innocence and joy, did we pass beyond the stretch of promise; for some of these whom we have now, perhaps, with weak words grieved, are gentle and humane writers, whose instinctive reverence, and I know not what kind of poetic affection, for all that pertains to the holy Catholic church, which they view from a distance only, should render them, even without reference to diviner

* Plato, Hippias Major. † Orat. pro pace.

motives, the objects of our tenderest sympathy, and sincerest love; but if honour be due to their genius, and affection to their noble capacities, truth and sincerity are no less a sacred debt which we should render to them, heedless of the loss and injury, and multiplied sorrow, which may result too surely to ourselves.

Returning now to the learning of the middle ages, we may observe that, in every sense of the term, this was Catholic, for it comprised all branches of human knowledge, although the divisions were few. The first mention of the division of the seven liberal arts into the trivium and the quadrivium, the three of grammar, and the four of physics, the knowledge of which formed the qualification for the degree of master of arts, occurs in the work of Martianus Capella, an African, who lived before the time of Justinian. The monastic studies embraced the study of the holy Scriptures, of the holy Fathers, that of the councils, of the canon and civil law, of positive and scholastic theology, and moral theology, that of sacred and profane history, that of philosophy, that of what is termed humanities, including the study of manuscripts, incriptions, and coins. Notwithstanding the predominance of theological and moral studies, we must not suppose that in every other men were mere children, and incapable of distinguishing popular errors, as some would conclude, from the city of Lucerne having mistaken some huge fossil bones for those of a giant, which it caused to be borne on its shield as such. The Carmelite friar Nicholas, who describes his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1486, was shown, when at Jaffa, one of the ribs of the giant Andromadus, which measured 40 feet in length; "but I am of opinion," he adds, "that it is the rib of a whale *." The map of the world, by Father Mauro of Camaldoli, in the convent of St. Michael in Murano, drawn in the year 1460, had anticipated, or at least predicted, the discoveries of the moderns in the old world. Assuredly, even in a scientific point of view, the learning of the middle ages is most remarkable. The great doctors of the school appear also in the capacity of naturalists. We observe in the writings of Albert the Great, all the subtilty of the Arabic philosophers. In his books on physics, he

* F. XIII.

gives all the hypotheses that are still produced to account for the formation of the stones which fall from the sky: he has a work, which Cuvier esteemed interesting, in twenty-six books, on animals, written in the scholastic style, first considering them in general, then descending to particular species, and describing their anatomical and physiological and historical character. In this he enlarges on Aristotle's work, and gives many new descriptions. His catalogue of animals is taken from Aristotle, Pliny, the Arabic authors, and his own observation. By means of the commerce of furs, he had seen many northern animals. Here occurs the first notice of the fish of the north seas, whales and herrings; he describes the shoals of herrings, so that it is an error to suppose that these shoals first began in the fourteenth century, for in the thirteenth he describes them. He speaks of birds also, and of falconry. Besides this great work, he composed a number of little treatises on anatomy and medicine, chiefly extracted from Aristotle. He has one in five books, on minerals, in which are many things relative to alchemy. St. Thomas Aquinas, the principal disciple of Albert, having studied with him at Padua, and in the same Dominican convent, appears also in the capacity of a naturalist. He wrote a commentary on the physics of Aristotle, in which alchemy plays a great part. He speaks of mercury as that which gave metallic qualities to metal, just as sulphur was considered the principle of combustibility in bodies. In philosophy he had an antagonist in Dun Scotus, a Franciscan, who was a realist. Each order continued to maintain the favourite theory of their great respective doctors. Vincent de Beauvais, the Dominican, wrote Speculum Magis, or great mirror, in four parts, the first was Speculum Naturale, the second Speculum Doctrinale, the third Speculum Morale, and the fourth Speculum Historiale, in which last are found many curious facts of considerable importance in the study of history. The whole is a vast collection in four enormous folios, that would form twelve such folios as the men of our days make, composed of extracts from all sources, and containing many translations from the Greek. The first part is a universal treatise on natural philosophy, in the order of the six days of the creation, like the hexameron of St. Ambrose. It treats on animals, quadrupeds, birds,

fishes, insects, on geography, on agriculture, on mining, on alchemy, on precious stones, which were then in great request for churches, where, as we have already shown, are still preserved the most rare and valuable specimens. The details and the style of this great work are richer than in the work of Albert the Great: he treats also on dreams, on prophecy,—in short, it shows that he embraced all parts of visible nature, and that he viewed them with penetration and judgment. Roger Bacon was a Franciscan, a native of Somersetshire. From Oxford he removed to Paris, where he met Grossetête, with whom he returned to England. He was the first to teach experimental philosophy, in the pursuit of which, by means of the liberality of his pupils and others, he expended two thousand pounds. His books, however, contained expressions that gave offence, and he was persecuted by the general of his order, but Pope Clement IV., hearing of his merit, ordered him to be delivered, and desired to see his books. On the death of this pope, the general renewed his attacks, but being raised to the popedom, he finally restored Bacon to full liberty, and bestowed on him the title of Doctor Mirabilis. Bacon in his writings treats on reading glasses, on the microscope, on the telescope, on concave and convex mirrors: he called for the reformation of the calendar, which was afterwards made by Pope Gregory, and he showed the proper method, which was afterwards pursued in effecting it. He understood the steam engine and steam vessels. His alchemy was learned from the Arabians, and he professed, like all the other alchemists of the thirteenth century, the theory which has of late been supported by Stahl. He speaks also of gunpowder. It appears that in his time children used it commonly for their amusement, by means of different little instruments. It was employed in the mines of Germany as early as in the twelfth century. In the beginning of the thirteenth, in the third crusade, it was first employed for the purposes of war, against the castle of Thiers. Friar Bacon was one of the many religious men who, amidst the pursuit of science, retained all the spirit of his blessed order. Another example was seen in Father Alexander Spina, who was one of the first to develope the discovery of convex glasses to assist the sight. In the very ancient chronicle of St. Catharine of Pisa, he

is called "a humble and good man, who used to write down whatever he saw or heard, and who was the first to make known the use of glasses for the eyes." In another chronicle of the same convent, it is said that he learned to make them without having any teacher. Some of the great mathematicians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were friars. Such was Friar Lucas Pacioli of Borgo, a St. Sepolcro, of the order of the Minors, who had no rival in his age. It was he who was the author of the first book of algebra known to Europe. William Becchi, an Augustin and Bishop of Fiesole, and Friar Leonard, a Dominican, were illustrious in the fifteenth century, both in astronomy and mathematics. But in the science of these men we still trace the holy monk. If they cultivate the physical sciences, the master was to attend more to the utility than to the curiosity of the matter. "Denique mente teneat id semper nobis præferendum esse quo prodesse possimus rurestri populo, cujus curæ et ministerio constitui solemus," say the statutes of the order of Præmonstré *. If Roger Bacon studies astronomy, it is in order that the calendar may be well arranged, to determine the festivals of the Church; if he treat on the magnifying glass, it is to rejoice in the consolation and assistance which will result to aged priests for reading the books of their holy office. In like manner the old author of the poem entitled the Mirouer du Monde, which is a mixture of cosmography and natural history, as also a history of the inventions of arts, says that Ptolomy the astronomer was of great service to monks, in furnishing them with the means of assembling together at the exact hour to repeat the office of matins. "Let not the study of natural philosophy," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "delight you more than that of theology: quid enim prodest cognitio creaturarum sine dilectione ac debita veneratione Creatoris †?" To the ancient philosophers such views would not have appeared unworthy or ridiculous. The advantage which Plato ascribes to the study of astronomy is that it induces the soul to look upwards to the Primal Being and to what is invisible ‡. No one

* Statuta ord. Præmonstratensis, cap. 9. art. 4.
† De Arcta Via Sal. I.
‡ De Repub. Lib. VII.

conversant with his writings need be told of the care which he takes to show that learning or study should not be pursued for any object of commerce or traffic, but in order to strengthen the soul and to convert it from things that are born to that which has existence in itself; for this, with him, is the great object of all learning and all science.

Proceeding now to the sacred studies of the middle ages, there is much that demands our attention; but I can only glance at their order. Positive theology consisted in the study of the holy Scriptures, of councils, and tradition, but scholastic theology embraced a wider field, and admitted the illustrations of philosophy and other learning. Tayon, a priest of Sarragozza, was the first who composed a sum of theology: he lived in the middle of the seventh century. In the first book of this compilation, which has never been printed, he treats on God and his attributes; in the second on the incarnation, the evangelic preaching, the pastors of the Church and their flock; in the third on the various orders of the Church, on virtues and vices; in the fourth on the judgments of God, on temptations and sins; in the fifth on the reprobate, on the general judgment, and on the resurrection of the dead. St. John Damascenus was the first among the Greeks who published a sum of theology, which is entitled on the orthodox faith. St. Anselm was the first among the Latins who treated theological questions in a scholastic manner, and Mabillon admits that his writings, with the four books of Peter Lombard, can never be studied without deriving considerable advantage. A clear description and an admirable defence of the scholastic theology is given by Melchior Canus *. It consists, he says, in reasoning learnedly concerning God and divine things, from the sacred writings and institutions. The proud subtilties, and contentious disputations, morose and tedious, of some doctors, are to be ascribed to the manners of evil men, not to the school, for it is a calumny to affirm that the majority were guilty of such childish trifling. The heretics, though they always affected to despise the school, rose up in arms against the scholastic theology. But they naturally regarded it with displeasure, because it restrained

* De auctoritate Doctorum Scholasticorum.

their licence in disputation. It was the office of scholastics to illustrate and also to confirm, as far as possible, from human studies, the doctrine of the Church of Christ, to spoil the Egyptians, to take the weapon from the hands of the enemy, and to smite off with his own sword the head of the proud Goliah, having an example of learning in St. Paul, and of wisdom in Moses and Daniel.

A theologian, says an ancient writer, professes science from God, but whatever he meets with in reading or observing relative to jurisprudence and medicine, and especially such things as have an affinity with theology, he gladly learns. For it is with wisdom as with virtues, all are branches of one stock, according to the concordant sentiments of all noble theologians *. "I confess," says the blessed Dionysius the Carthusian, "that as far as I am able to discern after self-examination, I am not conscious of having undertaken these works through any vanity or for any vile end, for the sake of fame, or of temporal advantage; but I engaged in them in order that by occupying myself daily in the Scriptures, I might become able to live according to them, acquiring true humility, meekness and patience, which I greatly need. From my heart I return thanks to God that I entered religion so young, in about my twenty-first year, since which I have now during forty-six years applied myself to study. I have read St. Thomas, Albert, Alexander de Hales, Bonaventure, Peter of Tarentum, Ægidius, Richard de Media Villa, Durandus, St. Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Dionysius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyrill, Basil, Chrysostom, Damascen, Bœtius, Anselm, Bernard, Bede, Hugo, Gerson, William of Paris, besides all the vulgar sums and chronickles, all the canon and civil law, many commentaries on both Testaments, and as many of the natural philosophers as I could obtain, Plato, Proclus, Aristotle, Avicen, Algasen, Anaxagoras, Averroes, Alexander, Aphorabius, Abubather, Evenpote, Theophrastus, Themistius, and others; and, although the Scripture is clearly and copiously expounded by great doctors, and holy fathers, yet as St. Jerome saith, in the house of the Lord every one should bring

* Instructio Novitiorum, cap. 22. auct. P. Joan. à Jesu Maria.

what he can *." The scholastic theology embraced the three ends of all true theology, the knowledge of God, the knowledge of celestial things, the prudence and the use of human things; and so far was it from retarding the study of the holy Scriptures that it invited and excited men to prosecute that study †. But I shall have occasion to return to this learning in a future place, when it will be necessary to speak of the philosophy of the middle ages. At present, let us return to matters more immediately connected with literature, though we have not been wandering far from the subject; for we must remember that after all it was Dante the scholastic theologian, who became the monarch of poets. And in fact the scholastic divines, in consequence of their sublime apprehensions of truth, frequently furnish lines that would be worthy of his highest song, of which circumstances poets were well aware. We find Tasso complaining to his friend Aldus, that he had not sent him the sum of theology of St. Thomas, and asking for the works of St. Gregory Nyssen; and, in a letter to Vincenzo Malpiglio, expressing his intention to commence the correction of his Jerusalem Delivered in the spring, he says, "I want a treatise of Pope St. Gregory, on the Hierarchy of the Angels ‡, which I have not yet read, and a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, respecting the armour of light, for I hope to render my whole relation more solemn and venerable by means of allegory §." To speak with contempt of the style and language of the ancient Christian writers, who give us in such abundance, the sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge, has been a favourite artifice of modern writers who endeavoured to win the renown of a more liberal erudition; but persons of solid instruction may naturally feel the necessity for much caution in admitting the justice of their charges. It is not always so easy to determine respecting style. Origen maintained that a certain chapter was in the highest and most excellent style of Daniel, and Julian Africanus denied that it was worthy of him. Men com-

* B. Dionysii Carthusiani de Arcta Via Salutis. Protest. ad Superiorem.

† Melchior Canus, c. 1, 2.

‡ Homil. Lib. II. 34.

§ Prosatori dal Sec. XVI. p. 468.

plain that some historians of the middle age should have written in the style of bards, such as the monk of St. Gall and Ermold the black, who wrote a work on chivalry, and a poem on Louis the Pius; but Aristotle says, that the style of the first prose writers of Greece was entirely poetical, as that of the noblest authors in all ages has been in a great degree. It is true the priest of the Teutonic order Nicholas Jeroschin in the fourteenth century, found no subject fitter for a poem than the contents of the old chronickle of the order by Peter of Dusburg which he accordingly versified; but modern critics are compelled to admire the spirit in which that work is composed. "With what diligent circumspection," says Dusburg, "the ancients and holy fathers committed to writing the wonderful works of our Lord Jesus Christ which were wrought by them or by their ministers is known to all; for they attended to the words of Tobias, 'quod opera Dei revelare honorificum est,' whose footsteps I follow, lest like the useless servant who hid his Lord's talent, I should be cast into outward darkness; therefore, I have written the wars which have been carried on by the knights of the Teutonic order." Voigt remarks, that this passage, as also the very title of another work, Gesta Dei per Francos, indicates that constant regard to Providence, which gave such a unity to their historical narratives, which are nothing but a wonderful relation of the combat between the good and the evil principle. Dusburg traces all enmities and seditions to the malice of the ancient serpent, the enemy of the human race, who envies the growing prosperity of a Christian community, and incessantly labours to interrupt the peace of the church; so that his whole history is the combat between God and the enemy of light and truth *. The natural flow of their narrative often indicates the simple means which had been employed in collecting it. In the life of St. Liudger by Altfrid, there is mention of an old blind man named Bernlef, who was greatly loved by the whole country because he was affable and knew how to sing the acts and contests of the ancient kings†. And Adam of Bremen, one of the old historians of Prussia, says, that the Danish king Sweno,

* Geschichte Preussens, III. 613.

† Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. IV. P. I.

had retained in memory all the deeds of the barbarians, as if he had them in writing, and that he used to relate them to him when he was compiling his annals. Wernbert, the celebrated abbot of St. Gall, the son of Adalbert, who had followed his lord to the war against the Huns, used to be forced when a little boy to sit and listen to the tales of his father, and it was the conversation of this Adalbert which afterwards supplied the monk of St. Gall with the materials for his history. These old humble chronicles of days gone by, need not have been so despised by the pretenders to classical propriety, who nevertheless committed an error in their title page, and wrote histories of their own times*. With respect to the great learned works of the monastic and other Catholic writers, it may be remarked, that one is never shocked by the breaking out of personal vanity adding weight to trifles, and of secret private spite, suggesting malignant observations, and that while they analyze ancient traditions, they do not employ imaginations to destroy former opinions, nor do they insult the reader with a tone of wanton defiance drawn from the pride of scholarship. They never wound the pious ear by a profane application of the most sacred words of Christ and his apostles to their own subject. That detestable abuse introduced by heretics which has passed into an example with modern authors, whose hearts are little alive to the holy delicacy of the faith, was absolutely condemned by the fathers of the Council of Trent. They never offer for literature personal contests like those fierce academic squabbles of an Annibal Caro and a Castelvetro, who, as Varro would say, "volsellis non gladiis pugnant." They have not the air of being in love with their own works, as if they could not survive the loss of them, like Terence, who is said to have died of grief because some of his translations from Menander perished at sea, when he was returning from Greece; nor can one find in them any trace of that jealousy which Petrus Crinitus detects in Plato and Xenophon, who never make mention of each other in their writings, though both disciples of Socrates †. Their style may have been unpolished, but it was not like that of a lite-

* Historia est res gesta sed ab ætatis nostræ memoria remota. Cicero ad Heren. Lib. I. 8.

† De Honesta Disciplina, Lib. I. c. 7.

rature which seems made by machinery. It was living, and often endued with a force that astonishes, as when the fathers describe the last moments of Julian, and say, "he died in the disgrace of God and men." In all their writings they evince that modesty and reverence which appears so remarkably in Dionysius, who though an antiquarian, and writing a most learned work on the antiquities of history, yet refused to enrich his work with information which religion forbade him to disclose, saying, it is not proper that I should write down those things which it is not permitted every one to see or hear of from those who have seen them *. Not that the same motives could have existed with Christians, but still there were many things which they would never expose to the common gaze of inquisitive men through respect for religion and humanity, through regard to private friendship, to the rights of hospitality, and to the iniations of their course in the schools. On the other hand, as was before remarked, they insert as well as omit some things, on account of their writings being intended for the eye of friends alone, on whose particular genius or experience they may have depended, for the needful application or correction. "Remember," says St. Avitus, in sending his poem of consolation to his sister, "that this little book is only to be trusted to the reading of those who are bound to us by the ties of relationship or of religious vow. Scarcely, though constrained by orders, do I commit it even into your hands; when or how should I wish it to pass into those of strangers †?" Another contrast which their writings present to those of later ages, consists in the absence of all anxiety to draw at every step political reflections from history. Mabillon cites the words of a learned author, who says, there is no more visible effect of that wicked glory with which men are enamoured, than the vanity which they derive from the knowledge of politics. This disposition of mind which betrays their secret admiration for grandeur of rank, is one of the greatest obstacles to true wisdom: it perverts the understanding, and makes the mind irrational. They wish to know princes before they know men; whereas they must first know men before they can

* Antiq. Roman. Lib. I. cap. 68.

† In Libellum de Consolatoria Castitatis Laude Præfat.

understand princes *. How injurious to their own intellectual character is the neglect of this maxim by those great modern writers with whom political opinions are the highest test of virtue, in whose eyes Plato is a bad citizen, and Demosthenes a saint? In another respect also their idea of learning was well conceived; for it did not consist like that of many modern solitary writers, in knowing the titles of innumerable books and in quoting from them at random, without having ever heard their history or known what were the author's life and actions, his particular genius, his object in writing, and the circumstances of the time in which he wrote †. This is the erudition of our young contributors to the libraries that are gradually to eradicate Catholicism and impart pure light to men, although to a scholar of the ancient learning, it is all but mere drawing-room display. "Circulatoriæ vere jactationis est." Unquestionably the great critics of antiquity might have found matter to censure and ridicule in some of the monastic compositions; but it does not appear exactly reasonable in the moderns to affect their right of judgment, considering the little correspondence between the greater part of their own literature, and the models by which they would attempt to try them. The praise which Caxton bestows upon Chaucer might be extended to many authors of the middle ages; for in fact he only evinced a characteristic feature of their whole literature in "comprehending his matter in short, quick, and high sentences, eschewing perplexity; casting away the chaff of superfluity, and showing the picked grain of sentence, uttered by crafty and sugared eloquence, in writing no void words, but having all his matter full of high and quick sentence." But it will be asked, was not the language of these old writers barbarous and their Latinity execrable? Many distinctions are necessary before we ought to subscribe to such an opinion. On the rise of Christianity some innovations in language were unavoidable; much indifference to its refinement was natural, and almost of necessary consequence. The Pagan rhetoricians complained that the Christian religion was effecting a revolution in grammar, and introducing many alterations into the Latin tongue.

* De Studiis Monasticis, P. II. c. 8.

† Mabillon de Studiis Monast. Pars II. c. III. §. 3.

St. Augustin, who studied Cicero and Virgil with such care, though he showed the insignificance of their objections, was anxious to preserve the purity of the Latin language; but Arnobius altogether disdained the scruples of the grammarians, and confessed that in fact Christianity ought to introduce changes into the language, since it had changed the sentiments and views of men. Yet assuredly many writers of the middle ages, like St. Leo the Great, and St. Bernard, attained to an admirable grace and harmony of style. There were still men who could write treatises which have been mistaken for the composition of St. Augustin, and beauty of style was not excluded by that impressive unction which belonged to the ascetical writers, whose sweet and honied sentences disarm the severity of high crested thoughts. Nicholas of Clairvaux imitated the style of St. Bernard, so that it was almost impossible to distinguish it. Schlegel even asserts that the Latin language was written with the same elegance in the eleventh century, as in the golden age of Augustus. The schoolmen, indeed, may have used new words in treating of new things or rather of things new to the Latin tongue; but the Roman authors themselves had taken similar liberties. Cicero used the words Appiitatem and Lentulitatem. The mania for substituting classical Latinity in place of the terms consecrated by Christian usage characterized the learning of the period immediately previous to the pseudo reformation, when new versions were published of the Psalms, and even of some ascetical works, as the imitation of Christ. Some wished to change Salvator into Servator, because the former does not occur in the writings of the heathens. This was an old idea, and St. Augustin had made the just reply, "Let the grammarians bark what they will about Salvator not being a Latin word: to Christians it is sufficiently Latin, provided it express rightly the truth of that article which they believe. I admit that the words Salvare and Salvator were not Latin before the Saviour came, but when he came to the Latins he made them Latin *." With respect to the Latin which was known in secular society, there is no reason to conclude that it was wholly void of classical grace. The judgments at which presided the Viscountess of Béziers, and which were collected

* S. Augustini Serm. 299.

under a famous title, are said to have been pronounced in very good Latin. We have already seen on what grounds the holy fathers without hesitation made use of the heathen writings to explain or illustrate to the Gentiles the true religion, but we have not sufficiently shown what an influence this Catholic view of learning which allowed men to claim as their own every intellectual good, continued to produce upon the literature of the ages of faith. When it was argued by some that the fathers had only quoted pagan authors in consequence of their living among pagans, but that in subsequent ages Christians had no occasion to consult them, the objection was refuted by showing that the faithful still lived among men who extolled reason, and that on that account an acquaintance with the writings of the pagans continued to be of the greatest importance *. The observation of Minucius Felix on this point was equally just in all times, when speaking of men who being aware of what they deserve, wish rather than believe that every thing will perish with their bodies, being hardened in their error by remarking the liberty which they enjoy in this life, and the incomparable patience of God, he adds, "and yet nevertheless, they cannot open the books of any distinguished man, they cannot even read the poets, without finding salutary warnings on this head; so profoundly graven is this thought in the heart of all men, that a day will come when the different disorders which at present reign will be repaired, and when Divine justice will reward every man according to his works †." St. Clemens of Alexandria recognized the fundamental principle of Christianity that the testimony of God is the basis of faith, in that passage of the Timæus of Plato, where he says, that there is one only way to understand truth fully, which is, by being instructed by God himself, or by those who are born of God ‡ "O man, magnificently humble and exalted by humility," cries Petrarch, speaking of St. Augustin, "who adorned with the plumes of others, does not insult over them, but while guiding the vessel of the Christian religion amidst the rocks of heresy, conscious to himself without arrogance of his own greatness, commemorates the rudi-

* Jamin, Traité de la Lecture Chrétienne. † Cap. 35.
‡ Stromat. VI.

ments of his youth, and though so great a doctor of the church, yet does not blush to have been led by the man of Arpinum who was tending to another end *." St. Jerome, indeed, alluding to the day of judgment, says, in a rhetorical style, "foolish Plato with his disciples †," but he admits the principle on which the ancient learning was still studied, in citing some verses from the Æneid, adding, "these things we take from a Gentile poet, that he who does not keep the peace of Christ may learn peace at least from a heathen ‡." It was only when alluding to some strange conceits of Abailard respecting the procession of the holy Spirit, which he spoke of as being the soul of the world, that St. Bernard used that famous expression, that endeavouring to make Plato a Christian he proved himself a heathen §, which will not justify our concluding that St. Bernard generally was insensible to the sublimity of Plato, or to the advantage of studying his writings; in fact, the passages adduced by Abailard from his works are the last that would give an idea of the excellence of his philosophy. Petavius says, in his book on the Trinity, that if we examine the more ancient heresies of which there is mention in Epiphanius, Philastrius, and others, we shall find that of almost all the doctrines which were contrary to the Catholic faith, but especially those concerning the Trinity, the foundation and author was Plato ||; but, perhaps, it would have been more correct to trace them to the men who abused Plato by endeavouring to prove that he had anticipated Christianity. Fleury, in his manners of the Christians, makes the distinction between Plato with the old academicians and the Platonists of the age of Julian, who had little in common with the disciple of Socrates but the name; and he observes that when Christianity arose there were some true philosophers who faithfully sought to discover truth and to practise virtue. In the ages of faith, before men had experience of an attempt to revive the heathen philosophy within the Church, we find them speaking with greater respect of the ancient sages, and inheriting with greater abundance and security the intellectual treasures

* Epist. Famil. Lib. II. 69.
† Epist. V.
‡ Epist. XV.
§ Epist. CXC.
|| De Trinitate, cap. 6.

of ancient times. "This we ought to do," says Raban Maur, and his authority is decisive as to the opinion of these ages, "when we read the Gentile poets, or when the books of secular wisdom come into our hands, if we find any thing useful in them we should convert it to our doctrine; but if there be any thing superfluous, concerning idols or love, or the care of temporal things, that we should pass over *." When Jerome Savonerola warned some learned men sitting in the Marcian academy at Florence, from the study of the ancient philosophers, saying, that Plato tended to inspire insolence of mind and Aristotle impiety, Petrus Crinitus relates that Picus of Mirandula smiled, and said in reply that his own studies convinced him that the Mosaic writings, and the Christian religion, in a great measure agreed with the ancient philosophy as contained in the works of Pythagoras, Mercurius, Zoroastre, and Solon †. After the sixteenth century, the insane arrogance of pedants and the errors of heretics naturally inspired the faithful with greater timidity and induced them to abandon many associations which they had formerly cherished with innocence and enjoyed with meekness. A tone of gloom and severity which belonged rather to the porch of the stoics than to the meek and joyous family of the Church, infused itself even into the privileged fold, insomuch that Villani the historian complains that the taste for graver studies which occupied his age made the productions of their most celebrated poets appear frivolous. Before that era faith was too firm to fear any concession which did not compromise its principles, and men never supposed it possible that truth could be confounded with exploded errors or endangered by recognizing the voice of primary traditions in the monuments of ancient learning. They enjoyed and honoured genius and every testimony to truth, so that if a poet, like that Athenian of old, had described them visiting the shades, he would have shown them like Sophocles approaching and kissing Æschylus and Plato, and giving them in their capacity of poets and sincere lovers of truth, the first place, and never questioning their right to it, but that same poet would represent the moderns like Euripides, who began to cry out

* Rabani Mauri de Institutione Clericorum, Lib. III. cap. 18.
† De Honesta Disciplina, Lib. III.

and contend for it, appealing to the judgment of the vile majority of the rabble shades *. With what noble affection does St. Jerome speak of the great Origen, extolling the beauty of his immortal genius, and the depth of his researches, and at the same time acknowledging, though in a style that might move one to tears, that there were so many points on which he had erred †. The learning of antiquity harmonizes far more with that of the middle ages than with our own. When a youth at present leaves the schools where he has been familiarized with the sentiments of Socrates and Cicero, and the older sages, and on entering the world finds himself in the midst of what is called society, he perceives an abrupt transition which fills him with astonishment. His studies of heathen literature had not prepared him for this insolent contempt for all that is holy, this audacious mockery of goodness, this undisguised egotism: he finds in literature itself, a total contrast to every thing in the writings of the sages of antiquity, high and mysterious, generous and inspiring, to all that refined intellectual beauty which had so often exalted his imagination to rapture in solitude, and shed such a grace and sweetness upon those evening walks with early friends to which he looks back with such affection: he finds himself now among impious, ignorant triflers, centaurically vociferating, men whose philosopher is Voltaire, whose temple is the exchange or the tribune, whose festivals are a horse race or a review of the civic guard, whose reading is confined to journals, and whose highest boast is to be one of the majority. But to return to the learning of the middle ages. "All things," says John of Salisbury, "offer themselves for the use of the wise man, who finds matter for exercising virtue in whatever is said or done: "nam et otia ejus negotia sunt:" he proceeds rightly in his own actions, and he philosophizes upon the vanities of other men ‡. His own work, a monument of the wisdom and learning of the eleventh century, is an example of this in its vast and curious erudition, and in the excellent judgment with which classical passages are quoted; for besides all the known classics it

* Aristoph. Ranæ, 788.
† Epist. XXXVI. et Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles.
‡ De Nugis Curialium, Lib. II. Prolog.

contains extracts from a multitude of other books. More than one hundred and twenty ancient authors are there cited. Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, in the twelfth century, cites passages from Aristotle, Boethius, Cato, Cicero, Tacitus, Frontinus, Galen, Gellius, Hippocrates, Horace, Justin, Juvenal, Lucan, Macrobius, Martial, Ovid, Persius, Plato, Plautus, Curtius, Quintilian, Sallust, Seneca, Statius, Suetonius, Terence, Theophrastus, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Virgil, and Vegetius. He had become a priest only in his old age. Christine de Pisan had read Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, and all the Greek and Latin poets, though her chief study had been the writings of St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustin, St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose. In the ninth century, Paschasius Radbert, who wrote the life of St. Adalhard, Abbot of Corby, applies a passage from the republic of Plato to his own subject, and makes with exquisite taste many quotations from the classical authors *. "Though the Gentile without Christ," says John of Salisbury, "had not laid hold of the fruit of beatitude, yet we see in them the shadows of virtues, as in the diligence of Themistocles, the gravity of Fronto, the continence of Socrates, the fidelity of Fabricius, the innocence of Numa, the modesty of Scipio, the patience of Ulysses, the abstemiousness of Cato, the piety of Titus †." He shows that even the ancient poets convey lessons of salutary wisdom. Homer, he observes chooses that his hero Ulysses should never be without Minerva, who signified prudence. Therefore, he underwent all horrible things without perishing; for he entered the cave of the Cyclops and escaped from it; he beheld the oxen of the sun and abstained; he passed into the infernal regions, and ascended from them; he sailed by Scylla, and was not seized; he touched Charybdis and was not retained, he drank the cup of Circe, and was not transformed; he visited the Lothophagi, and was not confined; he came to the Sirens and passed on his way ‡.

If I am not deceived, it will be interesting to a scholar to take, in this manner, an occasional glance at the great writers of classical antiquity, as if from the cloisters of

* Mabillon, Acta S. Ordinis Bened. Sæcul. IV. P. I.
† De Nugis Cur. Lib. III. cap. 9.
‡ Id. VI. cap. 28.

the middle age. The monks and holy men who wrote books in those times, are very fond of applying the beautiful sentences of Cicero and Plato to their own subject; but then they contrive to give them a tone essentially Christian, so as to be homogeneous with their whole composition, and they effect this by connecting or completing them with sentences out of the holy Scriptures, so that the entire page is made to express the simple unadulterated faith of Christ. In this way the classical student learned to associate the brightest gems of the ancient learning with the wisdom of Christians. If their lustre did not confer additional beauty on the thoughts, the practice will at least show with what innocence and piety the classical learning was cultivated in these ages of faith. An instance of this kind occurs in the old Life of Liethertus, Bishop of Cambray, where the author describes the last discourse of that holy man in language taken from the Treatise de Senectute, by Cicero, and from the Apology of Plato: but he does not allow his reader to depart without hearing still higher wisdom, for the concluding words are these—"Unde ne censeas lugendam mortem quam immortalitas consequitur: si enim credimus quod Jesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jesum adducet cum eo *." In this respect, the influence of classical learning upon literature, was widely different from that which it exercised in a subsequent age, when men lost sight of the Christian character in their admiration of the writings of antiquity. In many writers of the sixteenth century there are two characters—the Christian and the Philosopher. Led away by enthusiasm for classical learning, they sometimes wrote like heathens and at others like devout Christians. In the same chapter and page of Montaigne, this separation is perceptible. Let antiquity appear, and he revives all its errors; let Christianity show itself, and he falls upon his knees. Cardan is another writer of this kind, yet in heart so Catholic, that he refused the offer of great advantages rather than reside in a Protestant country. This accounts too for the contradictory opinions which have been held respecting them. Generally, through Heaven's mercy, grace was

* Vita Leitberti, Episcop. Cameracens. cap. 63, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. IX.

given to these men, enabling them to die penitent and Catholically, like Cardan, Polydore Virgil, and Montaigne. But they were not examples of the evil in its greatest extent. By degrees the classical spirit predominated to such a degree as to form the very character of men, and to impart that uniform odour of Paganism which is so perceptible in the modern literature. During the ages of faith, men did not cultivate classical learning with an indifference to its errors. Julian said that the Christians might persist in teaching the books of Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, and others, if they would persuade their disciples that there was nothing of impiety in these authors, and that they should imitate their worship,—an indulgence which was only regarded as the addition of insult to injustice. But no exercise of ingenuity was more agreeable to them than the art with which they made use of the beauties of classical learning, without ever confounding its errors with the simplicity of Christian truth. Chateaubriand, in his Martyrs, has shown himself in this respect a true Christian poet; for though he employs Pagan Mythology, and all that is most severe and holy, in the true religion, yet he never mixes them, or speaks of the former otherwise than as a Christian: yet his work was harshly criticised, on the ground of its combining irreconcileable elements, because his contemporaries were ignorant of the legitimate use of heathen erudition. Had that work appeared in the middle ages, it would have been received with enthusiasm, because men were then accustomed to use heathen and Christian learning without confounding either. In fact, to the inheritance of the earth was attached much that was gracious and innocent in the manners as well as in the learning of the ancients. Christianity sanctioned no superstitious separations or distinction. The names of adults were not even changed in baptism, so that many saints retained the titles which came from false gods, as Denis, Martin, Demetrius; and on the sepulchres of the martyrs may be seen traced the ancient symbol of the heart. A holy Franciscan, Father John of Bordeaux, in his book entitled the Christian Epictetus, speaks of weak persons who, not comprehending how grace corrects the faults of nature, blame the alliance which he seems to make in that book between the maxims of a philosopher and those of the Son of God. Knowing that heaven is

not farther removed from the earth than human philosophy from evangelical wisdom, they cannot persuade themselves that there may be a union between these two sciences. "They are deceived," continues the wise friar. "That is not impossible: for holy souls in Christianity have an admirable secret to unite them, which is the miracle of charity." The Church, in her solemn offices, reads from the works of one whom she names not in consequence of his fall. The books of Wisdom are for her use, and she reads from them; but she is not authorized to claim their author, and therefore she declines pronouncing his name*. "All things are to be read," says John of Salisbury, "in order that some, when read, may be neglected, some reprobated, some seen in transitu, and others to be more studied, as those which relate to political life, or to jurisprudence, or to ethics, or which conduce to the health of the body or soul. Nothing," he continues, "should arrest the mind which does not tend to make man better. Even those things of which the use is necessary, if pursued immoderately, become most pernicious. Who doubts that poets, historians, orators, and mathematicians should be read, since without them men are ignorant and illiterate; yet when they claim possession of the mind as of right, although they promise the knowledge of things, they withdraw men from virtue and from devotion. Witness the vanity of Cicero! What darkness covers minds that are lifted up like his by praise! What fear comes upon them, what cupidity inflames them! These palliate adulteries, teach injustice, and propose examples of evil to the multitude. What fires from heaven, or inundation from the sea, or opening of the earth, cause such destruction of people as these occasion of manners! For reading alone, without the co-operation of grace, can never make man wise†. But with grace assisting him, all things are food to him, because, in all creatures, the Lord speaks to him the words of his salvation. All edification of manners is from the Lord, and all instruction of safety is, in a certain manner, the Word of God; and from whatever part truth is offered, it should be accepted, because it is always incorrupt and incorruptible. Therefore all things

* Durandi Rationalis, Lib. VI. 1.

† De Nugis Curialium, cap. 9.

may be read if vice be avoided. What is even the odour of death to some may be profitable to life in others: all are more or less useful; and hardly can any writing be found, from which, if not from the sense or words, there may not still be drawn something by a prudent reader. The Catholic books are read with more safety, but it is still very useful to be acquainted also with those of the Gentiles. Wisdom is as a certain fountain, from which all the rivers flow that water the whole earth, which not only form the garden of delights of the divine page, but also pass to the nations, and enrich those flowery regions with beauty and fragrance *." In this admirable passage the danger of such studies to some minds is admitted, to which we find allusion also in many other works; for the scholar of the middle ages sometimes found by experience, that the reading of the heathen poets was injurious to the purity of his soul. Such an instance is related in the chronicle of Centulensis, and the young man is said to have renounced secular learning ever afterwards, and to have devoted himself wholly to what was divine †.

It remains only to notice briefly the character of learning, during these ages, in its application to secular objects.

In early times, medicine was studied by monks. Those of Monte Cassino employed the time that remained to them after their devout prayers, in the relief of afflicted humanity. In the beginning of the twelfth century, Faricio, a monk of Arezzo, was illustrious in medicine. Passing into Scotland, he became abbot of the monastery of Aberdeen, and was held in great repute for his medical knowledge by the monarchs of that kingdom. We have already remarked the excellent judgment which was shown in the choice of Galen for the chief authority. Cardan says, that there had been in ancient times a distinction between herbalists and physicians ‡. It was chiefly in the former capacity that the monks practised. Their motive was wholly religious, and the influence of piety appeared in this as in all their other sciences. An example occurs in the chronicle of Sens, of which the author speaks as follows:—"When I was in Argentine

* De Nugis Curialium, cap. 10.
† Chronicon Centulensis, Lib. IV. cap. 13.
‡ Prudent. Civ. c. 92.

following the schools, there was a certain Master Henry with St. Thomas who was imbued with the art of medicine. He being made prior at Trouthenhouze, related to me, that a certain soldier named Rambald being attacked with a grievous sickness, sent to invite the prior to come to prescribe for him. On his arrival he found the soldier dangerously ill; so the prior said to him, 'My lord, if you believe me, you will first confess your sins, and receive the body of Christ, before I attempt to cure you, because that will be a more important remedy for you *.' " However, as the study of medicine was found to interfere with more important duties, a decree of the Council of Rheims, in the year 1131, prohibited monks and canons from pursuing it; and in that of Tours, in the year 1163, Pope Alexander III. declared, that those who left their cloister to learn the art of healing or to pursue the study of law, would incur excommunication.

Many of the most learned laymen, in the thirteenth century, were physicians. They studied with the Arabs, to which education may perhaps be ascribed the errors of Arnold de Villeneuve in matters of faith. He too had studied with the Moors in Spain, from whom he learned the art of making brandy, which they regarded as a medicine, being prevented by their law from using it for any other purpose, and which he was the first to introduce into Europe. His heretical tenets on points of faith caused his books to be burnt, and it was with difficulty that the Pope succeeded in saving those which had only relation to medical science. In the same age flourished Raymund Lulle, a man of noble race, senechal of the King of Arragon. He was a warrior, a poet, an alchemist, and a theologian: he passed into Africa to convert the Mahometans, and was rescued when about to suffer martyrdom. He was supposed to have succeeded as an alchemist in his labours to accomplish the great work. Even the muse of Tasso, like that of Pindar, does not disdain to mention such men "as the heroes who repelled all kinds of diseases †;" for after treating how Godfrey was wounded at the first assault of Jerusalem, we are told,

* Chronic. Senoniensis, Lib. IV. cap. 34, apud Dacher. Spicileg. Tom. III.

† Pyth. Od. III.

" Erotimus, born on the banks of Po,
Was he that undertook to cure the knight
All what green herbs or waters pure could do:
He knew their power, their virtue, and their might:
A noble poet was the man also;
But in this science he had more delight;
He could restore to health death-wounded men,
And make their names immortal with his pen *."

Bartholomew de Granville was another learned and noble layman of that age, who composed a work from the writings of Albert the Great and Vincent de Beauvais, which was entitled De Rerum Proprietate. Symphorien Champier, in later times, was another example of an excellent theologian and philosopher, a renowned poet, and an experienced physician, versed in all kinds of learning. We find the two-fold character of these men generally recognised on their tombs, as in the inscription on that of Neri, in the Neri chapel at the convent of St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi, at Florence, in which the terms " medico ac philosopho" are applied to him.—Celebrated in the middle ages were Fracastor, a physician, astronomer, and great poet, and also Speroni of Padua, a physician and philosopher, who was so loved by St. Charles Borromeo as to be admitted to his Notti Vaticane. In later times, the influence of piety ceased to distinguish the learning of the physicians, so that a striking contrast to the meek spirit of the theological and monastic disputants was seen in the writings of these lay cultivators of medical science of the sixteenth century, who resembled the classical critics of modern times in making the margin of books their field of battle. The furious and ignoble combats of the anatomists arose when Veselius, from the schools of Padua and Bologna, sent forth a book to prove that Galen had described the anatomy of animals alone, and not of men, and Sylvius replied to him in terms of such outrage and insult. Veselius, the celebrated anatomist, physician of the Emperor Charles V. was known when at Madrid to have opened the body of a gentleman whose heart was found to palpitate, he having probably been only in a trance. The horror inspired by this event was so great, that it was generally believed

* XI. 70.

he had been guilty of dissecting a living man. He was condemned to make a pilgrimage to Palestine, and he died at Zante while on his return.

The study of law was in an early age cultivated by the clergy. In the twelfth century, that of the Roman law, at Bologna, was instrumental to the diffusion of learning. Gratian, who made the celebrated compilation, was a Benedictine monk, who lived there in the middle of that century. Many clerks studied the civil law. St. Philogonus, who succeeded Vital in the See of Antioch, in the year 318, had been an eminent lawyer, celebrated for his eloquence and learning, as well as for the holiness of his life. However, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, masters of law were not desired in the University of Padua. Innocent IV. found it necessary to issue decrees to check the ardour for this study, lest the Church should suffer injury, and he prohibited any professor of laws to be admitted to an ecclesiastical dignity. Matthew Paris, writing in the year 1254, laments the prevalence of such studies, and says, "Almost all scholars now, forsaking grammarians and philosophers, turn to laws; quas constat non esse de numero artium liberalium: artes enim liberales propter se appetuntur, leges autem ut salaria acquirantur," an opinion very conformable with what was said in a later age of lawyers by the chancellor D'Aguesau, that with them to make one's fortune and to do one's duty, meant the same thing. Hugues de Bercy, a poet who lived in the days of Philippe-Augustus, is still more severe against lawyers, and says, "Les loix apprennent tromperie." The Church commemorates the action of St. Andrew Avellin, who, when a young man at Naples studying jurisprudence, and engaged in pleading for private clients, finding himself in a moment of excitement guilty of uttering some trivial falsehood, and soon after coming by chance to the words of the sacred Scripture, "Os quod mentitur occidit animam," was seized with such compunction, that immediately from that hour he renounced all such engagements, and gave himself up wholly to the divine service. In consequence of the prescript of Honorius III. there were no professors of law in the University of Paris. In the Complutensian, Ximenes the founder took care, by a severe enactment, that there should be no place for such professors in after times. The same prohibition

was maintained in Hiedelberg, Prague, and other ancient academies of Germany.

Without taking any side in this question, one may observe that, in all countries where the modern philosophy prevails, the importance with which this profession is invested, is certainly not a little remarkable. At the same time it would be unjust to overlook the noble character which judicial learning and manners assumed in the ages of faith. History records of Anthony Roselli, that learned and eloquent lawyer of Arezzo, that he was never induced to defend a cause which even appeared to him unjust. In the chronicles of the middle age, lawyers sometimes appear invested with almost a saintly character. They are even assisted by visions. William Lydyngton being employed by the monks of Crowland to support some cause of theirs which was pending, saw in a vision by night, as he lay restless and concerned in reflecting upon the case, a certain reverend hero, clad in the garb of an anchorite, who desired him to take the refreshment of sleep, and added, that he would succeed in course of time. He concluded that it was St. Guthlake who had appeared to him, the patron of that abbey, who having been a great soldier, renounced the world and lived as a hermit in the fens *. It is impossible to regard, without awe and reverence, the solemn figure of Gothardus, rector of the law students, as he is represented on his tomb in the cloisters of the University of Pavia. Ranulphus, Bishop of Durham, in the days of the Conqueror, wrote a book entitled De Legibus Angliæ, which constitutes him the father of English lawyers. The clergy read in their office a sentence from St. Basil, that "fasting makes wise legislators †." We have seen, that in the time of Charlemagne it was imposed upon those who administered the law. When the Catholic archbishops and bishops, and mitred abbots, sat in parliament, men like Chancellor Morton, who had studied the canon law and the law of God, who were spiritually wise, and when the nobles who assisted them,—some of whom, perhaps, could only set their cross for their signature,—legislated for England in conformity to their principles, there were acts of parliament passed and laws enacted,

* Hist. Croylandensis in Rer. Anglic. Scriptor. Tom. I. 502.
† Homil. I. de Jejun.

which have stood, and will for ever stand to all posterity, as models of legislative wisdom. The men of our age imagine that it would be well to change them: they attempt it, fall into pitiable mistakes, involve things in confusion, and become justly objects of public derision for their pains.

Such is the general idea of the learning of the ages of faith which will result from a reference to their works. In the next chapter, the constitution and manners of schools, and the history of the rise of Universities, will still further develope it, and can hardly fail to prove interesting and instructive.

CHAPTER VI.

The institution of schools supported by public authority, in places secured and set apart for instruction, was unknown to the ancient Greeks; and with the Romans, military glory for many ages excluded all study of the liberal arts, so that it was not till the end of the first century of the Christian era that public schools began to be maintained in Rome at the expense of the state. The school of Alexandria, in Egypt, was indeed of great antiquity. From the time of the Ptolemies it had been a seat of learning, boasting of that renowned museum founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, which contained an ambulacrum, a place for disputation, and a house in which the sophists and grammarians were lodged. Among the primitive Christians it had become very celebrated. St. Jerome says, that from the time of St. Mark the Evangelist it had possessed ecclesiastical doctors. There the mathematics were also studied by the Christians. In order to assist the Church in the computation of the festivals, the Pagans themselves were induced to attend the lectures in the Christian school at Rome, near the baths of Titus. It was to a school of this description that the stoic Pantænus was

indebted for his knowledge of the Christian religion, and afterwards he was placed at the head of the very school that had instructed him. St. Clemens of Alexandria used to boast that he had been a disciple of St. Pantenus, which he deemed a greater honour than to be a master himself. In the school of Alexandria flourished Origen, Heraclas, Dionysius, John φιλόπονος, and other learned Christian doctors. This celebrated school was destroyed about the end of the fifth century by the invasion of the Mahometans. The school of Cæsarea-Palestina was also celebrated among the Christians. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Basil the Great, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, who studied and taught there, rendered it illustrious: but of its duration we have no certain evidence. St. Basil, departing from Cæsarea to Constantinople, the school of the second Rome, soon became renowned, and here it is supposed was founded by Constantine a seat of letters, furnishing the first instance of a public academy endowed and instituted by authority. That of Rome was equally celebrated, as was also that of Berytus, which three cities had the exclusive privilege of having lectures upon the Roman law. The college of Bangor in Britain was established by monks before the time of Constantine. Shortly after the death of Justinian, Berytus was overthrown by an earthquake, and a fire destroyed what had been saved from that ruin. The school of Constantinople lasted till the beginning of the eighth century, when it was extinguished by Leo the Isaurian. The school of Carthage also was spoken of by St. Augustin as the rival of that of Rome. That of Milan is celebrated for its library, and from St. Augustin having gone to it to teach rhetoric. In the fourth century a number of schools were founded in Gaul by the edict of Valens and Gratian. That in the town of Cleves was eminent, which it appears had existed in the third century, where an Athenian had taught. Marseilles retained its academy, which was so grandly described by Strabo and Cicero. The schools of Bourdeaux, Tholouse, Narbonne, and Treves, are expressly mentioned from the epoch of the fourth century; but the professors were only grammarians, both Greek and Latin, and rhetoricians, for no philosophers or professors of law were yet in Gaul.

Of ecclesiastical schools, the earliest that are mentioned are those of Rome, Alexandria, and Nisibe. Such

schools were either public or conventual. In the beginning of the sixth century, Cassiodorus, who from a Roman senator had become a monk, lamented the deficiency of these, compared with the secular schools *, and ascribed it to the wars, which raged in Italy. Edessa was soon after celebrated for its ecclesiastical school. The conventual schools were episcopal and monastic. Of these the first instance is that of Hippo, founded by St. Augustin for the education of young clerics, as a seminary to supply priests to the Church. Muratori describes the desolation of Italy, in consequence of the ravages of the barbarous Goths and Longebards, who nearly destroyed all learning, excepting at Rome and Pavia. As a remedy for this evil, the parochial schools by the clergy became general throughout Italy in the fifth century, which institutions thence passed into Gall. Thus a council in Narbonese Gall, in 443, decreed as follows: "It pleases us that all priests, constituted over parishes, according to the custom which is so beneficially established in Italy, should have junior readers unmarried in their houses, whom they shall spiritually nourish, instructing them in the psalms and divine lessons, and in the law of God, that they may provide worthy successors for themselves, and receive from the Lord an eternal recompence †." In Spain first arose the schools of cathedral churches. This was in the beginning of the sixth century. Children offered by their parents were here to be instructed under the eye of the bishop ‡, and to dwell under one roof §. Yet the first Christian schools were always adjoining the cathedral, where was also the hospital for the sick and for pilgrims, and there science and mercy met together, justice and peace kissed each other. The first schools of Paris were opposite Notre Dame, and adjoining the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. In the time of King Robert, the Palatine schools, so called from their being near the palace of Thermes, were on the ascent of the hill of St. Geneviève. The schools of Rheims, under Hincmar, in the ninth century, were celebrated. Young men flocked there from all parts. These schools produced great bishops, abbots, and chancellors

* Præfat. ad lib. divinæ et humanæ lection.
† 1 Can. Concil. Vasionensis, II.
‡ Concil. Toletano, II. Can. I. § Id. IV.

of France. His successor Foulques excited emulation by his example, for he did not disdain to study with the youngest clerks *. In the year 970, the famous monk of Aurillac in Auvergne, Gerbert, was placed at the head of these schools, and king Robert, son of Hugues Capet, was sent to study under him by his mother Adelaide. Under Guy de Chatillon the youth of the city were also instructed, by the masters of the cathedral school, in the holy scriptures and in the ecclesiastical computation. At Lyons I saw, adjoining the cathedral, a very ancient building, called the manécanterie. It was the cathedral school, erected by Leydrade the archbishop in the eighth century. The name is derived from mane cantare, to sing matins, for it was here that boys were instructed in the chaunt. In the eleventh century we find St. Maiolus, a young ecclesiastical student, repairing to Lyons as to the most eminent school, the mother and nurse of philosophy, as St. Odilo calls it †. It was king Ina who founded the English school at Rome. We read in the Saxon chronicle, that in the year 816 the school of the English nation at Rome was destroyed by fire. Alfred was a great benefactor to it. The title of one of the great hospitals at Rome is derived from its proximity to this school of the Saxons. In the time of St. Bernard it was usual for some, even of monastic students, to be sent to Rome. St. Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluni in the twelfth century, sent some of his disciples to Pope Lucius, to whom he wrote in hese remarkable terms: "According to the will and command of your eminence, we direct from the bosom of Cluny's cloister these beloved brethren and sons to the common father, yea to our and their especial father; we commend them to apostolic piety. For the cause of God and by virtue of obedience they leave their native soil, repair to a foreign land, and seek not to fly from death itself, which the Roman air is accustomed to inflict so quickly upon our countrymen; so that like lambs they go to the sacrifice ‡." In the sixth century also arose the schools of the new family of the Benedictines, which spread themselves over the whole western church. Of these the school of the monastery in the island of

* Anquetil, Hist. de Reims, I. 152.
† Bibliothec. Cluniac. 282.
‡ S. Petri ven. Epist. Lib. IV. 24.

Lerins became first most celebrated. This was founded by St. Honoratus, and it produced Maximus, Faustus, Hilary, Cæsarius, Vincent, Eucherius, Salvius, and many others. The school of Seville in Spain was also renowned for having produced the great St. Isidore. Of this school Mariana says, "that as if from a citadel of wisdom many came forth illustrious both for probity of manners, and for learning*." Isidore gave this precept for all similar schools in Spain: "Cura nutriendorum parvulorum pertinebit ad virum, quem elegerit pater, sanctum sapientemque atque ætate gravem, informantem parvulos non solum studiis litterarum sed etiam documentis magisterioque virtutum." Until the time of Charlemagne letters found an asylum in England, and especially in Ireland in the monasteries. Henry of Auxerre, in the life of St. Germain, which he dedicated to Charles the Bald, says that the Anglo-Saxons used to resort unto the monks of Ireland, for the sake of learning, and that they received from them the manner of forming their letters; and Bede is a witness that in the year 664 "many of the noble and middle classes of England left their country and passed into Ireland, for the sake of divine reading, or of a more continent life, and some within the monasteries, others going about from cell to cell, delighted in receiving instruction from masters, all whom the Irish liberally received, giving them daily food without price, as also books and instructors gratuitously †." Then returning home, they enriched their own country with learning. Renowned schools and colleges were in the abbeys of Louth, of St. Ibar in the island of Beg Eri, on the coast of Wexford, in the fifth century, in the abbey of Clonard in Eastmeath, and of Rathene, in those of Lismore, Ross, and Bangor, of St. Mary at Clonfert, and in that of St. Ninnidius in the island of Dam-Inis in the Lake of Erne, and in the abbey of the isle of Immay on the coast of Galway ‡. At this time Theodorus, a Roman monk, sent by Pope Vitalianus, came to Canterbury, where he was made archbishop, having for companion the abbot Adrian. These were both learned in the Greek and Latin. When Alcuin presided in the school of York, a crowd of

* Lib. VI. Rer. Hispan. cap. 7.
† Hist. Anglic. Lib. III. cap. 27.
‡ Monast. Hibernic. 410.

scholars resorted thither from France and even from the farthest parts of Germany. St. Liudger was sent from Saxony to York to study under him, and remained there three years and six months. Tanner admits that the English monasteries, till the moment of their destruction, were schools of learning and education, and that all the neighbours who desired it might have their children taught grammar and church music without any expence to them *. In the abbey of Jumièges, where our Edward the Confessor was educated, there were many schools for the monks and for seculars, in which rich and poor were alike received, and the poor could send their children, because they were nourished at the expence of the monastery †. In the monastery of St. Benedict on the Loire, there were at one time five thousand scholars. Two descriptions of colleges flourished within all the Benedictine monasteries, of which one was for lay youths ‡. The Scholasticus was the master of the school, who not only excelled in the science of the divine scriptures, but also in secular learning, in mathematics, astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, music, rhetoric, and poetry. Trithemius adds, that whenever an abbot found no monk in his abbey competent to discharge this office, it was no subject of shame to apply to some other monastery for a monk to fill it §. No college in these ages was more celebrated than that of Fulda, of which Raban was preceptor. Even bishops did not disdain to study in the schools of learned abbots. Thus we read of Burchard, Bishop of Worms, who followed the instructions of Olbert, Abbot of Jumiège, "a noble and powerful bishop did not disdain to submit himself to the form of a disciple: and a humble and foreign monk did not fear to assume the part of a master over such a man ‖." In the Benedictine monasteries were always two divisions of boys for learning, forming the interior or claustral and the exterior or canonical schools; the former for those that were

* Notitia Monastica, Pref.
† Hist. de Jumièges par Deshayes.
‡ Mabillon de Studiis Monast. I. cap. 11.
§ Withem. in Chron. Hirsan. ad an. 890.
‖ Mabillon, Præfat. in V. Sæcul. Bened. § 3.

dedicated to religion, the latter for seculars. The care which was expended upon all these boys is described by Udalricus, in the third book of his customs of Cluny, where he concludes that it would be difficult for any son of a king to be nourished with greater diligence in a palace than was the least boy of the lowest rank in Cluny. Many sons of kings were educated with the children of the poor in monasteries of Benedictines. Lothaire, son of Charles the Bald, was educated in the abbey of St. Germain L'Auxerrois, Theodoric III. at Kala, Louis VI., Pepin, parent of the great Charles, and Robert, the second king of the third race, in the abbey of St. Denis. Even the exterior schools were under strong monastic discipline. Ekkehard the younger says, in the sixth chapter of his book on the monastery of St. Gall, that there were places of strict discipline, not only in the cloisteral but also in the external schools, from which, besides clerks, who were often there nourished, there came out many illustrious bishops. Joachim Vadianus, though an adversary, bears testimony that in the masters of these schools were required piety and erudition, the former being estimated by innocence of life and love of the divine worship, the latter by the judgment and excellence of the learning which was possessed. Preceptors were often chosen from the monasteries for the episcopal schools. "And in all these offices," says Mabillon, "if they ever received any thing as a gift from the munificence of their disciples, they used to spend it in pious uses." Thus we read of Sigebert, that he applied many things to the use and ornament of the church of Jumièges, which he had received as voluntary presents from the liberality of those whom he instructed. With Charlemagne arose the Palatine school, which was held in the palace, of which the scholars were in the court. This was so far ambulatory, that wherever the emperor went to reside it established itself in the imperial palace. Louis-le-Debonaire and Charles the Bald continued to maintain the school in their palaces, in which had always presided from the time of Charlemagne the most learned monks, Alcuin, Peter of Pisa, Clemens, Claudius a Spaniard, Amalarius the Deacon, Angelomus the Monk of Luxeuil, and Scotus, who gave lessons on the holy scriptures, on

tradition, and on the liberal arts *. The zeal of Charlemagne for learning is finely evinced in his admirable letter to Baugolf, Abbot of Fulda, and to other abbots. By means of Alcuin, it was said, that a new Athens had arisen in France. It is not denied that there had been as we have shown schools in Gaul before his time: for Bede speaks of Sigebercht, King of the East Saxons, having fled to France, and says, that when he returned to his kingdom, he instituted a school in imitation of what he had seen in France, in which boys were instructed in letters, Bishop Felix himself assisting †. But the wars and troubles of the eighth century were a great obstacle to the progress of learning. The Council of Valence in the year 855, recommends the erection of schools for divine and human sciences, and the ecclesiastical chaunt, because from the long interruption of studies, ignorance of the faith, and the want of all science have invaded many of the churches of God. The exertions of the great Alcuin and other British monks under Charlemagne and his son Lewis, led to the extension and improvement of schools. Alcuin, amidst all his labours of composition, gave public lessons in the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, "I your Flaccus," he says in a letter to Charlemagne, "according to your exhortations and good desire, apply myself to minister to some under the roof of St. Martin the honey of the holy Scriptures. Others I endeavour to inebriate with the old wine of ancient learning, others I begin to nourish with the apples of grammatic subtilty. Some I try to illuminate in the science of the stars, as if of the painted canopy of some great house; I am made many things to many persons that I may edify as many as possible to the advantage of the holy church of God, and to the honour of your imperial kingdom."

In 813, a celebrated synod at Mayence ordered the clergy to admonish the people that parents should send their sons to the school whether in monasteries or in the houses of the parochial clergy, that they might learn there in the vernacular tongue, the symbol and the "our Father," and whatever was necessary for instruction in

* Mabillon, Præf. in IV. Sæcul. Ben. § 8.
† Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 18.

the Catholic faith *. There were parochial catechetical schools which were also gratuitous, and in another synod in 800, it was ordered that the parochial priests should have schools in the towns and villages, that the little children of all the faithful might learn letters from them; "let them receive and teach these with the utmost charity, that they themselves may shine as the stars for ever. Let them receive no remuneration from their scholars unless what the parents through charity may voluntarily offer†." Indeed, so early as in the fifth century, the clergy had not only cathedral schools, but also others in the country villages. In the year 529, the Council of Vaison strongly recommends the building of these country schools. Yet a late writer of the life of Caxton asserts that parochial grammar schools in villages were first established in the fifteenth century! In the monasteries there were the major and the minor schools. In the latter, boys were taught the symbol, the "our Father," the Psalms, chaunt, arithmetic, and grammar. In the major schools the various branches of learning were cultivated, sacred letters, mathematics, music, poetry, the oriental languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic. The most celebrated were in the monasteries of Fulda, St. Gall, Hirsfeld, St. Alban of Mayence, Bec, Corby, Milan, St. Deny at Paris, St. Maximus at Treves, at Rheims, Autun, Tours, Strasburg: but there were many others, a list of which is given by Launoi, in his book De Scholis celebribus a Carolo Magno in Occidente instauratis. Of Fulda, in the ninth century, Trithemius writes as follows: "There flourished there a most learned body of monks, under the abbot, Raban Maur. Their fame and memory were in great price with emperors, kings and princes, not only on account of the sanctity of their lives, but also of their incomparable learning." Not only abbots sent their monks to this school, but also from all parts of Germany and Gall, noblemen used to send their sons to be instructed by Raban Maur; and as he was most mild, he received them all with great care, and instructed them according to the age and disposition of each. The necessity for episcopal schools was inculcated in the celebrated Council at Metz, under Chrodo-

* Concil. Moguntini Can. XLV.

† Synod. Aurelianensis, anno 800, Can. XX.

gang, shortly before the time of Charlemagne. The school was to be attached to the cathedral, where the clergy were to live in community under the bishop. The fathers of the sixth Council of Paris in 829, petitioned the Emperor Louis to found three public schools in some three proper places of his empire, that the labour of his father may not by their neglect come to be in vain, that the holy Church of God may gain honour, and the emperor an eternal memory." What was the result is unknown. In 859, another council invokes pious princes and all bishops to provide for the support of schools of the holy Scriptures, and also of human literature, "that on all sides, public schools may be constituted for both kinds of erudition, divine and human *." The writer of the life of Bishop Meinwercus, describes the episcopal school of Paderborn as "flourishing in both divine and human science." Multiplied exercises of study occupied youths of good disposition and boys, all under claustral discipline. There were the trivium and quadrivium, music, dialectics, rhetoric, grammar, mathematics, astronomy, and geometry. There flourished Homer and the great Virgil, Crispus, Sallust, and Statius. It was a play there to make verses, and sentences, and sweet songs; and of the beauty of writing and painting executed by these students, we see proofs to this day. A Council at Rome in 826, under Eugene II. ordained that there should be three kinds of schools established throughout Christendom, episcopal, parochial, in towns and villages, and others wherever there could be found place and opportunity. In 823, Lothaire I. promulgated a decree, to establish eight public schools in some of the principal cities of Italy, "in order that opportunity may be given to all, and that there may be no excuse drawn from poverty and the difficulty of repairing to remote places." Among these were Pavia, Cremona, Florence, Verona, and Vicenza. In the tenth century, St. Gerard, Bishop of Toul, drew into his diocese several learned monks from Greece and from Ireland, who opened schools which produced some eminent men. At the same time, the fame of the school of Magdeburg, under Otheric, was spread through all Germany. It was here that St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia, was educated, a

* Concil. Saponar. Can. X.

beautiful account of whose holy youth, and of the affectionate diligence of his masters, is given in the ancient chronicles of that city *. The Teutonic knights in Prussia used to send boys of talent into Germany, and especially to that school, to be educated in Christian learning, and alms for their support used to be collected in Germany †. Van Espen supposes that, from the eleventh century till the Council of Trent, the episcopal schools had fallen into decay ‡. Alexander III. by various constitutions, had endeavoured to obviate this evil. The third Council of Lateran, in 1179, says, "Since the Church of God, as a pious mother, is bound to provide that opportunity for learning should not be withdrawn from the poor, who are without help from patrimonial riches, be it ordained, that in every cathedral there should be a master to teach both clerks and poor scholars gratis §." This decree was enlarged and again enforced by Innocent III. in the year 1215. Hence, in all colleges of canons, one bore the title of the scholastic canon. Pope Innocent III. who with Honorius III. was most zealous for the increase of schools, extended the law to other churches besides cathedrals, that there might be a master to teach gratis.

The formal establishment of the universities, dates from the thirteenth century; but celebrated schools had existed long before, in the places where they were instituted. Joffridus, Abbot of Crowland, who succeeded Ingulphus, sent monks to his manor of Cotenham, near Cambridge, who used to walk to Cambridge every day to give lectures in a barn, and in a short time they collected a crowd of disciples, so that soon the studies were regularly pursued as follows: Brother Odo, early in the morning, taught grammar to the younger boys: at prime, brother Terricus delivered to youths the logic of Aristotle, with the commentaries of Porphyry and Averoes: at tierce, brother William read the rhetoric of Tully and Quinctilian: master Gislebertus, on every Sunday and Saint's day, preached the word of God to the people, and on all week days he expounded before sext the text

* Voigt. Geschichte Preussens. I. B. 4. c.
† Id. II. 293.
‡ De Jure Eccles. Part ii. Til. XI. § 6.
§ Cap. I. X.

of the sacred page to learned men and priests *. Similar details might be discovered relative to the commencement of studies in the other great universities of Naples, Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, which were all established about the same time; for Europe then forming almost but one country, institutions and manners followed every where the same impulses contemporaneously. However, the universities of Padua and Perugia did not arise till a century later. In Spain, the three greater universities were those of Salamanca, which was founded by Alphonzo el Sabio, and afterwards favoured by the especial patronage of Queen Isabella, of Alcala, which was instituted by Cardinal Cisnero, and of Valladolid, which, through the patronage of the Austrian dynasty, rose to great eminence. The most distinguished of the other twenty-four lesser universities of Spain, were at Sarragossa, Valencia, Seville, Grenada, Itruria, Cervera, Toledo, and Santiago. The word Universitas, signified corporation, and did not necessarily imply universality of the subjects of study. At Montpellier and Salerno there were universities of medicine solely. The beginning of the fourteenth century was distinguished by the multitude of colleges which were founded. There were forty-two in the university of Paris alone. The schools of the Dominicans and Franciscans were now found every where. At Paris, the ancient episcopal school in the Island adjoining the cathedral, was transferred to the Mountain of St. Geneviève.

The universities were rendered illustrious by the lectures of the great monastic doctors, most of whom were of noble and even of royal blood. Albert the Great studied successively at Padua in his father's house, and at Paris, where he gave public lectures on Aristotle in the year 1219. The Place Maubert, is so called from this Magister Albert; for he was obliged to lecture in the open air, there being no hall large enough to contain his audience. In one of the courts of Magdalen College, in Oxford, may be seen the stone pulpit projecting from the wall, from which lectures or sermons were delivered in the open air. At Paris, a street in the quarter of the university mentioned by Dante, is still called the Rue du

* Petri Blesensis Continuatio ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rer. Anglic. Scriptor. Tom. I.

Foin, where the hay or straw used to be distributed to the scholars to furnish seats. Albert then retired to Cologne, as General of the Dominican order, and afterwards became Master of the Sacred Palace at Rome; he also assisted at the Council of Lyons; wearied with his labours he returned to his convent at Cologne, where he died in the year 1280. The number of scholars at these universities was prodigious. Nearly ten thousand foreigners of every nation, and many of them very illustrious, were at the University of Bologna in an early age. St. Thomas of Canterbury and Peter of Blois, were students there. Pope Alexander III. was the Professor of Sacred Scripture, when exalted to the Pontificate. The masters and students at the University of Paris were so numerous, that when they went in procession to St. Denis, the first ranks were entered into the church of the abbey when the last were leaving the church of the Mathurins in Paris. The university on one occasion promised to send twenty-five thousand scholars to increase the pomp of a funeral. It was usual to study at more than one university. The great Pope Innocent III. had studied at Rome, Bologna, and Paris; and Alexander V. shone both at Paris and Oxford. Men were students till the age of thirty or forty. Guillaume de Champeaux after having taught philosophy at Paris with great applause where Hugues and Richard de Saint-Victor were his disciples, became himself, at an advanced age, the disciple of Anselm of Laon, in order to study theology under him, after which he returned to Paris, where he was the first to establish a double school of theology, one in Paris itself, and the other in the abbey of St. Victor which he founded. On those ancient tombs of doctors in the cloisters of Pavia, the master, like Nazario, is represented instructing scholars who are themselves bearded men; and at the college of the Jesuits at Rome, shortly after its foundation, Dr. Martin Gregory, says, that prelates and bishops, and other honourable personages used to sit out of the press at lattice windows looking into the school, hearing and writing down the lesson of divinity. The church commemorates a trait in the life of St. Camillus de Lellis, that in his thirty-second year, feeling the advantage that learning would yield him in consoling the sick and dying, to which work of charity he devoted himself, he was not ashamed to enter into the first class of

grammar with little boys and thence proceeded to study for the priesthood. The same is related of St. Ignatius Loyola. Sometimes the whole life even of a poet was cloistral through his anxiety to benefit men by his writings, as was said of "gentle Champier."

> Tout ton vivant tu n'as fait aultre chose
> Que ta personne tenir tousjours enclose,
> Pour profiter quelque chose aux humains
> Tant que des livres tu as composé maints,
> Tu as parlé des sainctes et des saincts ;
> Et au dernier, comment pour estre crains
> Et bien aimé de leurs nobles vassaulx
> Les princes doivent vivre soir et mains,
> Et supporter bonnement leur villains,
> De tout cecy tu as moult bien parlé
> Car le peuple ne doit estre foullé *.

The jurisdiction enjoined by these new academies throughout Europe was drawn from the constitution of Frederick I. Barbarossa. By decree of Pope Clement V. in the Council of Vienne in 1312, the profession of Oriental languages was added to the ancient faculties for the purpose of providing missionaries to the east. At Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic, began to be generally taught. Then arose the schools of the Jesuits, and after the Council of Trent, the episcopal seminaries were multiplied, in which it was expressly provided that the students should assist at mass daily. Some councils, chiefly Belgian, prescribed schools on Sundays and festivals after mid-day, that the poor children may be instructed in the rudiments of the faith †.

The favour and indulgence shown by rulers to schools of learning may be traced to the immunity from gifts granted by the Cæsars Augustus Vespasian and Adrian to the professors of the liberal arts. Domitian seems to have withdrawn this dispensation, which when restored was restricted to Asia by Antoninus Pius ‡. Constantine the Great confirmed and increased all the privileges of learning, of whom three constitutions in favour of

* Gouget, X.

† Espen in Jur. Eccles. P. II. tit. II. cap. 5.

‡ Keuffel, Hist. Originis ac Progress Scholarum inter Christianos, 33.

schools are in the thirteenth book of the Theodosian code. This emperor was not the first to appoint salaries for the professors, since Vespasian, Adrian, and Antoninus Pius, are recorded to have set the example, confining their patronage to the four sects of the Stoics, Platonists, Peripatetics, and Epicureans *. To the multitude of students, who flocked from all parts to Rome in the fourth century, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, gave rules and privileges which may be seen in the code of Theodosius. By this law, the students were forbidden to frequent theatres or taverns, and all whose lives did not correspond to the dignity of liberal things were to be beaten publicly and expelled. No student was to remain after the age of twenty, which prescription Keuffel justly regards as an instance of imperial jealousy most injurious to learning. The discipline and privileges of the academy of Constantinople were similar. Theodosius raised professors of learning to the dignity of counts of the first order, a title invented by Constantine, and divided into three degrees of honour. For Constantine thought, that all who partook in the labours of governing in a civil or military situation should be styled his companions. They were also raised to the dignity of the spectabiles which placed them next to the first, who enjoyed the chief honours in the empire. Julian decreed that the Christians should neither teach the liberal arts nor be received for instruction in them by pagan professors, with the exception of one whose name was mentioned, but this persecution did not last long. Justinian was illiterate, and no lover of learning; but such was his zeal for building magnificent temples, that he took for that purpose the stipends which had been granted by former kings to the masters of liberal sciences. The Emperor Frederic I. in his famous constitution which is the base of university jurisdiction, gave several privileges to students and professors. At this time the dangers to which solitary students were exposed, travelling and passing into strange countries, were so great, that by this decree it was made a peculiar crime to touch or wound any student or scholar travelling, or remaining in a foreign land for the sake of learning. All such persons are placed under the especial protection of the emperor, who is

* Vide Heineccii Antiquit. Rom. Lib. I. til. 25.

most anxious to defend and favour with peculiar love those by whose science the whole world is enlightened and reduced to obedience towards God and to rulers who are his ministers, who make themselves exiles, for the sake of science, and poor from being rich. On occasion of a great sedition at Paris, between the town and the students respecting the price of wine, which led to a great interruption of scholastic exercises, Henry III. of England addressed an invitation signed with his own hand to the masters and to all the scholars of Paris, in which he says, "Humbly compassionating the straits and tribulation which you suffer at Paris from an unjust law, and wishing piously to assist you in reverence for God, and his holy church; we wish to signify to you, that if it pleased you to pass into our kingdom of England, we will assign for your use whatever city, borough, or town you may choose, and secure you all liberty and tranquillity." More than a thousand in consequence removed to Oxford, and by order of the king the rate of lodging was not to exceed a certain sum. Some French authors suspect that the King of England excited the sedition in order to profit by it in gaining possession of those learned men. To the twelfth century may be traced the origin of theological degrees, but it was not till the year 1562, that the Council of Trent authoritatively established for the whole church degrees in theology and canon law. The degrees of universities were conferred by giving the chair, the book, the cap, the gown, the gold ring, and the kiss, and the profession of faith. The first signified the faculty of teaching others. The book was presented open to signify that the candidate must study with diligence, and then it was given into his hands closed, to signify that it was not only in books but in the mind that wisdom was to be retained. The cap belonged to the clerical office. The ring given to doctors signified the mystic marriage to science. The kiss was to denote the fellowship which should exist among the learned. The profession of faith was prescribed by Pius IV *. Great honour and pompous ceremonies belonged to universities. Foreign kings would assist as spectators before an assembly of five thousand graduates, which was the number at Paris when there were twenty-five thou-

* Keuffel, Historia Scholarum.

sand scholars. The grandeur of the purple yielded to the scholastic dignity. In the year 1476, the University of Paris refused to give the degree of doctor to a man for whom the kings of France and of Spain had requested it *. The zeal for these foundations continued in Catholic countries unabated. Lorenzo de Medicis, to facilitate the instruction of youth, opened a college at Pisa, where he assembled the most excellent masters of Italy. There were at least eight universities founded in France during the fifteenth century, while nothing but the work of dissolution proceeded in England, though it had been immediately preceded by Wolsey's foundation at Ipswich. The last instance of the establishment of a university was in the year 1547, when Charles of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, uncle of Mary, queen of Scots, solicited and obtained from Rome the establishment of a university at Rheims on the model of that at Paris. It became distinguished for the piety as well as the learning of its masters and scholars. But the schools of the Jesuits were now combining the advantages of a university without its danger. "Hast thou seen in Oxford, written ever the school doors, Metaphysica. Astronomia, Dialectica, and so forth? So is it here within one college," says Dr. Martin Gregory, speaking of that at Rome, shortly after its foundation by St. Ignatius.

The literary meetings held in the convent of the Santo Spirito at Florence, were the first embryo of academies in Europe; and the first academy was Platonic. The present Latin translation of Plato, and of the whole works of Aristotle, though defective, evinced the zeal of Cardinal Bessarion its founder for the study of the ancient philosophers. In this convent the monks used to discourse in Greek and even in Hebrew. These meetings originated with the learned friar Louis Marsigli, around whom men of letters used to assemble and enter into disputations.

Such then were the ancient institutions of education for the propagation of learning; for of others which belong to the history of modern foundations I find no trace excepting among the Turks, who were the first to have military colleges, as was natural under a religion which was to be propagated by the sword. The

* Historia Universit. Parisiensis a Bulæo.

Christian princes had not followed their example even so late as in the age when Savedra wrote *. It would be in vain to look back to ages of charity divine, and honour high, for any institution resembling those schools from which the offices of religion were to be excluded as a doubtful thing, and which men were equally to fill with faith and heretic declension, sanctioning in the eyes of artless and unguarded youth by their intellectual ministry, and perpetuating by the associations of early life arising from it, error as well as truth. No mention here need be made of these, in favour of which philosophy hath no arguments though civil powers may think fit to legislate. At present, I return to the ancient schools and universities, of which we have now seen the rise and progress during ages when the object of education was to render souls innocent, to stand once more beautiful in their Maker's sight. Many interesting characteristics of the former demand our attention: for, in the first place, the situation in monasteries removed from the dissipation that may occasionally at least prevail in great cities,—yielding the healthful air of the country and the beautiful aspect of woods or mountains, where the scholar, in the sweet and silent studies of his youth, learned to associate lessons of piety and devout exercises with the love of nature, was peculiarly favourable for the purpose of education. The evening walk of the students of the Cistercian abbey of St. Urban, is a happy spectacle. The being able to feel at home in its vast halls, and galleries, and peaceful cloisters, and then to range through the noble woods which surround it, might seem almost of itself an education. The importance of these first impressions is quite incalculable, and the wisdom of the middle ages recognised the necessity of attending to them. "Colleges ought to be placed in the country," says Bonald, "that there may be no external pensioners to introduce the corruption of the town within its walls, who might receive instruction, but who could not receive education like those lodged within the college. Salubrity of air, innocence of manners, and habits of a country life, are advantages for which no city could offer compensation. Such were the ancient monasteries for the education of youth †."

* Christian Prince, II. 406. † Legislat. Primit. Liv. III. 63.

Lord Bacon remarks the need of places for learning, all tending to quietness and privateness of life, and discharge of cares and troubles. What is termed a character, may indeed be formed in the boisterous stream of the world, but a genius is fostered amidst the stillness and peace which enable the soul to hear the sweet voice of Nature. It was the general opinion of the learned in the middle ages, as of the ancients *, that education could best be administered in a foreign country. John of Salisbury cites the words of an old man of Chartres, describing the keys of learning to unfold truth to philosophers,

> " Mens humilis, studium quærendi, vita quieta,
> Scrutinium tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena,
> Hæc reserare solent multis obscura legendo."

And he supplies this comment, " For to the humble God gives illuminating grace, enabling them to understand truth, and they despise not the person of the teacher nor the doctrine, unless opposed to religion; and without this, all capacity of genius, tenacity of memory, and diligence of study, will only serve to lead men into greater error, as the swift horse sooner carries his rider from the way. Simplicity and anxious study to find the sense, attend humility: that a quiet life is necessary to wisdom, even the heathen sages taught; and this cannot be found without the necessaries of life, and on the other hand, without the absence of luxurious delights,—for the abundance of things extinguishes the light of prayer, and therefore joyful poverty is an excellent thing to assist studies, as many of the ancients also found. Philosophy requires a foreign land, and sometimes makes one's own country a foreign one, because it engrosses a man wholly, and prevents him from being engaged in domestic concerns †." And to the same effect speaks Vincent of Beauvais, who says, " A foreign land is one of the helps to learning and philosophy, because it does not suppose the mind to grow forgetful of its end, and it is the first of virtues to learn gradually to withdraw the mind from these visible and transitory things, that afterwards one may be able to relinquish them freely ‡." To the young scholar in a foreign land, solitude

* Jamblich. de Pythagoric. Vita cap. V.
† De Nugis Curialium, Lib. VII. cap. 13.
‡ Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. I. cap. 29.

is the mother of tears and piety. Savedra, from the judgment of his chivalrous lore, goes so far as to say, that youth hardly ever succeeds in its own country: friends and relations render it too insolent; but in foreign lands the case is otherwise, for necessity renders it there more circumspect, and obliges it to form its manners to gentleness, to conciliate favour. In his own country a young man feels more free and more assured of receiving pardon; but where he is unknown he fears the rigour of strangers: besides, it is in foreign countries that he loses insensibly that rudeness of manner, that retired humour, that ridiculous vanity, which prevail among those who have not frequented various nations *." Methinks now I hear some voice repeat the poet's invitation, and say,

> " Revele to me the sacred noursery
> Of virtue, which with you doth there remaine,
> Where it in silver bowre does hidden ly
> From view of men and wicked world's disdaine †."

Where, like that happy race of which an older poet sings, " the children of heaven, nourished with illustrious wisdom, with the fruit of that holy country where it is said celestial Harmony gave birth to the chaste Muses, enjoy for a time that bright pure air, and those sweetly-blowing winds, which refresh the unviolated land, where dwells that Love which was seated by the side of Wisdom, the handmaid of every virtue ‡." Who, in fact, would not wish to behold the interior of these Catholic colleges, which have left such a sweet and holy memory! " We had loved it with fondness like our native home," says one whose early years were spent in the English college at Douay. " Domestic harmony and mutual confidence had indeed at all times made a college life a happy life; and I will affirm, that many now living in different classes of society, as many before us have done, look back with complacency to Douay, and call the happiest period of their life the years of youth spent there in preparatory studies, with companions and friends who were dear to them §?" It is not thus, we may observe, that the sophists look back to the days of youth,

* Christian Prince, Lib. II. 208. † Spencer, VI. 1.

‡ Eurip. Medea, 822.

§ Narrative of the Seizure of Douay College. — Catholic Magazine.

and to the place of their instruction. But the schools of holy Church were not their mother.

Far from the tumult of cities, the young Levites who are destined to bear the holy ark of the new alliance, and those also who are to serve God in the walks of secular occupations, are assembled to enjoy the sweets of solitude, and to animate each other with the love of study and of wisdom, having before their eyes great examples, which always constitute the most perfect school of life. Here they apply to a course of profound learning, which often occupies them till an advanced age. Their religious exercises commence and close each day. The solemn wind of night still sighs in the towers, but the bell has sounded, and every one rises from sleep. The dawn has not yet streaked the sky, but the long corridores give echoes to the passing steps of the student. In the chapel is already collected that throng of devout youths and venerable masters, whom Christ in his own garden chooses to be his helpmates, some of whose devoted lives, perchance, shall be hereafter sung deservedly in heights empyreal. Let England no more boast of those roses of the divided houses which dyed her fields in the blood of her children. Let her remember rather that band of innocents which she sent forth to Liege and Lisbon, to Douay and to Rome, who returned to her bosom each year as the flowers of the martyrs, among which, as the venerable Bede would say, neither roses nor lilies were wanting; for many of them were worthy to receive crowns composed of both,—white for angelic purity, or purple for the passion. In their cells and common halls simplicity is every where seen, and the humblest offices are imposed upon all in succession, to temper the grandeur of their vocation or the dignity of their state. On the evening of two days every week they walk abroad, either through some magnificent park, under the shade of a darksome wood, or to the summit of some rocks, or in a delicious valley watered by a stream, which winds among its flowery meadows. These are their pure enjoyments. Far from spending their days in sensuality, under the shade of the altar, a frugal and even austere nourishment, prepares their bodies for a mild and spiritualised, for a long and healthful life. Their minds are tuned to every gracious harmony, are imbued with every grand and solemn truth. Music is the

language of their thoughts; while sacramental lore and saintly science form them to wisdom. From time immemorial in these Catholic schools, all over the world, it was the custom to open the classes with a mass to the Holy Ghost,—with the hymn, "Veni Creator Spiritus, mentes tuorum visita,"—that is, they implored the Divine grace to visit their minds, in order that, whilst they partook of the salutary fruit of the tree of knowledge, they might be strengthened against the enemy of mankind, who might tempt them to pluck the poisonous fruit, which that tree also bears. They sought not glory in their devoted labours; they provided surer means for sweet tranquillity during the rest of life than the reward of superior ability, which the poet vainly boasted could secure it:—

ὁ νικῶν δὲ, λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοτον
Ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν
Ἀέθλων γ' ἕνεκεν —— *.

The triumph of a youth in the schools of holy Church did never sound as a note of mourning to his unsuccessful companions: unlike the conqueror in the ancient games, he did not by his victory occasion to others,

Νόστον ἔχθιστον, καὶ ἀτιμοτέραν
Γλῶσσαν, καὶ ἐπίκρυφον οἶμον,

a detested and shameful return home, a mournful silence, and a desire of darkness to cover them †. He did not rob them of a mild welcome, nor of the sweet smile of their mother as they came to her arms; they returned not as through streets full of enemies, fallen from on high, and oppressed with calamity ‡. These were the cruel victories of heathens, barbarous and delusive,—but the crowning of the Christian conqueror was a common joy, and he alone felt humbled. Religion even had in store her own sweet balms, to administer, with kind and cunning hand, to the sorrows of young students, who were depressed with a sense of their own inability to serve and honour the masters of their education; for she

* Pindar, Olymp. X. 1.
† Olymp. VIII. 5.
‡ Pyth. VIII.

taught them, that the inferiority of their talents took nothing from them in the eyes of God, and rendered them no less dear and precious to their common mother: she taught them, that failure and disappointment might be more conducive to their future happiness than the most brilliant success: she always said, "Give me but your will, and I engage to make you wise and happy: I ask not genius, I ask not strength, health, success, crowns, applause,—I ask but your heart *." True, the discipline of her colleges was strict and watchful; but how small a part of education is the attainment of knowledge, in which vain sophists now say it all consists! The human character is beheld in the greatest deformity in a man without education, and possessed of immense general knowledge,—who knows much, but every thing knows ill.—

πόλλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα †.

Religion did not sanction that system against nature, which takes the infant from its mother's breast, and leaves the youth to lament in the words of the Forsaken Ion,—

——— χρόνον γὰρ, ὃν μ' ἐχρῆν ἐν ἀγκάλαις
μητρὸς τρυφῆσαι, καί τι τερφθῆναι βίου
ἀπεστερήθην φιλτάτης μητρὸς τροφῆς ‡.

Not the planet-like order of her temples, which is to glorify Heaven's mercy, but the unhallowed mechanism of the factory, which is to enrich commercial tyrants, demands that sacrifice. All that she required of the child was, that on first coming to the use of reason, he should make an act of the love of God, because, if that were omitted, he would be guilty, as St. Thomas Aquinas held, "of mortal sin." But though she imposed no exercises beyond their strength, she knew that they are blessed who have borne the yoke from their youth; she knew that the source and the root of all goodness and of all honour, is the having been from youth well instructed. The Spaniards ascribed even the cruelty and savage

* Le Petit Manuel du Pieux Ecolier: Paris, 1828.
† Margites. ‡ Eurip. Ion. 1390.

temper of Don Pedro to the negligence or ignorance of his governor, Don Alonzo Albuquerque, who, say they, might have tamed him when young *. What a train of evils did the ancient philosopher discern as attendant upon false discipline,—ψευδοπαιδείαν,—ignorance and error, sadness and weeping, avarice and incontinence †! Discipline, therefore, with her, assumed a decided and inflexible organization; but with what love was it imagined? with what benignity was it maintained? "Sinite parvulos venire ad me," said our heavenly master in the school of God. "O sweet Master," continues Thomas de Kempis, "in how few words dost thou enable all men to learn humility! These holy words console the humble and the poor, comfort the simple and the innocent, teach us all to become like children, without malice or guile, that we may be beloved by God and men ‡." Jesus in the Heart of Youth, a Dialogue between Jesus and a Boy,—such are the titles of works composed by the most learned men,—a Bartolommeo dal Monte, a Dionysius, surnamed, through admiration at the depth of his philosophy, the extatic Doctor. "We wish," says the holy Benedict, "to institute a school for the service of the Lord, and we hope that we have not placed any thing sharp or painful in this institution; but if, after the council of equity, there should be found, for the correction of vice and the maintenance of charity, any thing a little too rude, let no one, through fear of that, fly from the way of safety: at the commencement it is always narrow, but by a progress in faith and in a regular life, the heart expands, and we learn to run with an ineffable sweetness in the way of the commandments of God." These are the last lines of the Preface to his Rule, which was for the strongest aspirants to perfection. Less severity was shown to the weak. The master of the monastic schools was not to be hard, clamorous, and reproachful; but putting on the bowels of a mother, he was to be gentle and affectionate, so that whatever the scholars had at heart, they might securely and sincerely trust to him §. The masters and professors were expressly charged to converse often with

* Savedra, Christian Prince, I. 16.
† Cebetis Tabula.
‡ Manuale Parvulorum, I.
§ Statuta Ordinis Præmonstratensis, cap. 18.

the scholars, to take part in their exercises and plays, that no occasion might be lost of useful admonition, and of winning their hearts, by evincing love and benevolence *. "What obedience, and humility, and brotherly love," cries Dr. Martin Gregory, describing the college of the Jesuits at Rome, "when, but for order sake, there is no superior in heart and mind, when the greatest divines in the world, highest in place and dignity, will ask permission that they may serve the youngest students at the table! when the good fathers of our English college wash the feet also of our scholars when they arrive first at Rome! When, in fine, all are fathers and brethren and sons in respect of each other!" Affectionate solicitude was constantly proposed as their duty †. "The master must be full of gentleness and humanity, for his disciples," says St. Bonaventura, "whom he should regard as his children, so as to evince towards them the tenderness of a mother with a father's firmness ‡." "The master," says brother John, a barefooted Carmelite, "should always begin with some prayer like the following: 'Humillime Rex cordium Jesu Christe, per viscera misericordiæ tuæ, in quibus visitasti nos oriens ex alto, obsecro te, creare digneris in me cor humile et purum, cupidissimum secretæ eruditionis tuæ: ut in schola humilium discipulorum tuorum fiam dono tuo sapiens ad regendam sine deceptione novellam prolem, dulcissime genitricis tuæ.'" Like Moses, the meekest of men, like David, the most humble and gentle, like the holy father Benedict, who could not be angry even against those who wished to poison him, the master must be a pattern of the tenderest humanity, showing always a cheerful and mild countenance, to win the hearts of his disciples, never irritated at their faults or moved at their weakness, bearing with the rudeness of some, unconquered by the difficulty of others, so that no one of them may ever fear to approach him by day or by night. This sweetness and affection will render the way of Christian perfection still more delightful to them. This will soften hearts of stone, and give them hearts of flesh. Every day he must remember to offer for his

* Statuta Ordinis Præmonstratensis, cap. ix. art. 2.

† Instructio Magistri Novitiorum, Auct. Joan. à Jesu.

‡ S. Bonaventura, Speculum Novitiorum, cap. 13.

scholars the most holy sacrifice of the altar, imitating the example of him who said, "Lest perchance my sons may have sinned." But if at any time, through their faults, he should feel his love for them to grow cold, he should, with great effort and earnestness of prayer, endeavour to banish that temptation: he should throw his eyes upon the celestial Master, our most sweet Redeemer, who never despised his poor, rude, abject apostles, obnoxious to so many passions, but loved them, bore with them, and instructed them with the sweetest love. On the other hand, he must not evince a partiality for some over the rest, on account of their more eminent sanctity or other graces; but must endear himself to all by studying the good of all. In reproving faults, let him never use harsh words, but as the Apostle says, if any one be tempted so as to commit a fault, we must instruct him in the spirit of gentleness; it is not said he must reproach or insult, or adopt any such mode, but that he must instruct him; he must be ready also to excuse them, and to come forward himself in their behalf, urging their inconsiderate youth; and when it is absolutely necessary to punish the fault, he must show that he separates the person from what he punishes, and he must speak soothingly and affectionately to him, as to something most amiable, and far removed from the turpitude of vice; he must avoid also the words of magisterial authority, and, like one of the disciples, as if he had not himself attained to perfection, he must associate himself with their labours; thus in words and also in deeds he must be kind and loving towards them. For his books, he should have the Holy Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul, the Ascetics and Rule of St. Basil, the Morals and Pastoral Care of St. Gregory, the Confessions and Meditations of St. Augustin, the Opuscule of St. Bernard and of St. Bonaventura, the works of Cassien, Hugo de Saint Victor de Claustro Animæ, Ricardus de Saint Victor, Humbertus de Eruditione Religiosorum, Climacus, Innocent and Gerson, Thomas à Kempis, the treatise of blessed Vincent de Vita Spirituali, the works of Blosius and of Denis the Carthusian, the Institutions of Taulerus, Albertus Magnus de Virtutibus and Landulphus de Vita Christi. In vulgar tongues he should have the works of P. Lewis of Grenada, Avila, Diego Perez, Arias and St. Theresa, and others. And for history

he should have St. Gregory of Tours, Eusebius, Theodoret, and the Lives of the Saints. The master should take care to employ his talents well. Spiritual men, to whom education is entrusted, should remember that they perform their duty to God when they commit to memory the fruit of their erudition, along with pleasant and delightful histories; that in walking or sitting with the novices they may be able to exhilarate and entertain them, for their labours must be refreshed with joys. Therefore he should relate histories to them, and order others who have the ability to charm their companions with relations, and he may vary his conversation by a thousand innocent modes of diversion, which may excite a laugh without breach of modesty, instituting little contests to determine who can imagine the most perfect instance of the love of God or of hope, and allowing little plays to be represented on the sacred history, and to this he should add singing of hymns and psalms, to raise their souls to heaven. As for extraordinary recreations he must provide that all games be consistent with modesty and mutual love, conducive to the delight of the mind and the refreshment of the body. He should vary also his mode of instruction, and make use of pictures and emblems, to administer delight, and keep them ever impressed with a sense of true perfection, that they may perform all their actions for the love of God, or on account of God. He must explain to them what they are to hold respecting the mysteries of faith, and he must explain the commands of the Decalogue. Youth being impatient of rest, he must avail himself of that love of acclamation which Plato remarks in them, and give them occasion to make formal acts to inflame their hearts with the love of holiness and the horror of vice. He will therefore cry, "Vivat Jesus Christus Dei altissimi filius," and they will all answer, "Vivat."—"Vivat serenissima Regina cœlorum," and they will answer, "Vivat."—"Convertantur universi homines ad fidem et charitatem Dei ac Domini nostri Jesu Christi," and they will answer, "Convertantur;" and then they may pronounce an anathema against forgetfulness of God, ingratitude, despair, disobedience, luxury, and pride; and this exercise of acclamation and of malediction will conduce to fervour and piety*.

* Instructio Magistri Novitiorum, Colon. 1613, cap. 2.

This ideal of discipline passed also to the mind of persons in the world. Christine de Pisan speaks of the poor human fragility in the days of youth, on which every well-ordered sense should have compassion, as on a thing subject to passions, to diverse desires, and natural assaults; and he says that masters ought to correct and form it to good manners by good examples: rather, "que par verbéracions ou bateures maistriseuses *." St. Gregory of Tours says, that all the ecclesiastical colleges in his time were expressly formed to secure that innocence of life which is the distinctive characteristic of the clerical office. A scholastic class was governed so far like the Church itself, that the ultimate object therein was to save souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ †. Well then may we exclaim with the poet, who lived at the moment of the transition, when the education of faith was giving place to that of a new philosophy,—

"Let none then blame them, if in discipline
Of vertue and of civill uses lore
They did not form them to the common line
Of present dayes, which are corrupted sore;
But to the antique use which was of yore
When good was only for itself desyred,
When simple truth did rayne and was of all admyred;
For that which all men then did vertue call
Is now call'd vice, and that which vice was hight,
Is now hight vertue, and so used of all ‡."

The young were taught to live in a house with little noise. There were to be no commands, troubles, incessant wants, insolence, impatience, or meddling with other people's affairs further than to assist them. The ordinary food of scholars was plain, and generally of one kind §. The dress, as may be still traced in some of the old Catholic foundations in England, was modest, and at the same time manly, requiring a hardy exposure of the limbs. Plainness and simplicity marked every object around them. Who does not love to find himself in one of those antique halls, lighted through small high grated

* Livre des Fais, &c. chap. 11.
† P. Judde, Œuvres Spirit. Tom. III. 354.
‡ Spencer, V. 1.
§ In France and England the scholar's fare was mutton.

windows, pierced in the walls of vast solidity, furnished with hard benches, notched and worn and stained with the ink of centuries, where every thing seems in the same state as in the time of St. Edmund or William of Paris? With what delight does one escape from Turkish Ottomans and the luxurious sickly atmosphere of gaudy dissipation, to collect one's thoughts, and to recover the recollections of sweet and holy study, within the plain unvarnished walls of a monastic college! How do they bring before one's eyes the men of better days! We seem to behold united the bright school: there sit the race who slow their eyes around

> "Majestically move, and in their port
> Bear eminent authority; they speak
> Seldom, but all their words are tuneful sweet."

There seems to rise Richard of St. Victor, Richard more than man, as he is styled by Dante, there to stand,

> "One, whose spirit, on high musings bent
> Rebuk'd the lingering tardiness of death."

He whom Dante beheld in Paradise, as the eternal light of Sigebert,

> "Who 'scap'd not envy, when of truth he argued,
> Reading in the straw-litter'd street*.

Here would our saintly countryman, Edmund of Abingdon, read lessons upon theology, where many and illustrious men used to be assembled to hear him, and it is related that during these readings, they used often to close their books, not being able to refrain from tears†. Here one is reminded that the labour of education was undertaken solely for the honour of God, and in virtue of holy obedience, without the least inducement, or indeed thought, of remuneration, and here one feels how great was the dignity which the Catholic religion imparted to every stage of the scholastic learning.

But let us return to the studious disciples, the pious sons of the holy Nicholas and Gregory, who are all animated with the innocent ardour to excel in wisdom, and

* Parad. X.

† Vita ejus apud Martene Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

whose conversation is angelic as their looks; whom the ancient poet would have commemorated as walking in the law of their fathers, and reviving their ancestral goodness, collecting riches for their minds, shunning injustice and arrogant youth, and cultivating wisdom in the quiet retreats of the muses, *σοφίαν δ' ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων* *. What a goodly sight is it, cries Dr. Gregory Martin in his description of the college of the Jesuits at Rome, to see in the streets long trains of students, two and two; within the college a whole swarm coming out of divine schools into one court together, while new companies succeed them in new lessons and other readers! Beautiful are the portraits of the Christian student which we discover in the writings of the middle ages. Such as represent the young Meinrad, in the ninth century, receiving his education in the celebrated abbey of Reichenau, on the island in the Lake of Constance†, and Bruno, who afterwards became one of the apostles of Prussia, of whom a friend, who had known him from boyhood, says, "Every morning when going to school, before he left his lodging, he used to be at his prayers while we were playing‡." Lothaire, the son of king Charles the Bald, was committed to the care of Heiricus, Abbot of St. Germain at Auxerre. The abbot speaks of his disciple as follows, in a letter to his father: "In years a boy, in mind a philosopher, I confess to you that in natural disposition and in genius he is estimable beyond others of his age." The language of parents and of guardians was not then directed to undo the work of education, and to counteract that of the instructors of youth. Eginhard wrote to his son, who was then at the schools of Fulda, and his letter was to this effect: "My son, study to imitate good manners, and take care that you never offend him whom I wish you always to follow; but be mindful of your profession, be diligent to obey the commands of him to whom you have wholly committed yourself. Learned in these things, and familiar to their labours, you will want the advantage of no vital science. As I advised you while present to exercise yourself in the study of oratory, so I again exhort you to leave nothing untouched of that noble science

* Pind. Pyth. VI.
† Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik. 2.
‡ Ditmar Annalista Saxo.

which you may acquire from the genius of the great and most abundant orator; but above all, remember to imitate those good manners in which he excels; for grammar and rhetoric, and all other studies of liberal arts, are vain, and greatly injurious to the servants of God, unless by the Divine grace they know how to be subject to virtue; for science puffeth up, but charity edifies. Melius mihi quidem est ut te mortuum videre contingat, quam inflatum et scatentem vitiis." The preceptor whom this pious parent, the secretary and historian of Charlemagne, desired his son to imitate, was the celebrated Raban Maur*. Let us take another example. "Anselm archbishop, to Anselm, his nephew in the flesh, and in love his dearest son, salutation and the benediction of God. Since I love you especially amongst all my relations, I desire that you may advance well before God and before all men. Therefore I admonish and exhort you, as my dearest son, that you study diligently to further that for which I have sent you into England, and that you suffer no time to pass in idleness. Apply assiduously to grammar, and exercise yourself more in prose than in verses. But above all things, guard your manners and actions before men, and your heart before God, that when I shall see you, by the favour of God, I may rejoice in your progress, and that you may rejoice in my joy. Farewell, I commend to God your body and soul†." Boleslaus, Duke of Poland, when a boy was sent to Paris to study, and the chronicle of Cluny testifies that he led a most innocent and diligent life, devoting himself with all his heart and affection to love and serve his Creator. It is related also of St. Philip Benitius, a noble Florentine, that when a youth studying at Paris, he united his scholastic application with such piety, that he inflamed many with a desire of the celestial country. The memory of such students made the recollections of a Catholic college like a book of holy instruction, to teach men how to live and die well. Those of St. Acheul, as the little book so entitled demonstrates, were associated with many sweet and affecting examples, both in life and death, of the holiness of youth. St. Joseph Calasanctius, of a noble house of Arragon, gave indications in his tender years of

* Mabillon Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Benedict. §. 8.

† S. Anselmi, Lib. IV. Epist. 31.

the especial charity which he was to exercise towards poor boys; for while himself a little scholar, he used to assemble them, and give them lessons in the mysteries of the faith and in sacred prayers. It was he who afterwards, on coming to Rome, being divinely admonished that he was destined to train the minds of the young poor to knowledge and piety, founded the order of poor regular clerks of the Mother of God for that purpose, which was approved of by Pope Clement VIII. and Paul V.: though he afterwards applied himself to the assistance of every class, yet his principal instructions were always afforded to poor boys, whose schools he used to superintend, and he would accompany them to their homes, for he beheld in each of them the child Jesus. It is on the day of his office that the church repeats the words of St. John Chrysostom, "What is greater than to train the manners of the young? certainly I esteem as more excellent than any painter or sculptor, or any other artist whatever, the man who knows how to mould the youthful mind." In her office on the 12th of June, she relates of St. John of Sahagun, in Spain, that when a scholar boy he used to lead a most holy life, and that he used often to place himself upon some raised spot, and make a discourse to other boys, exhorting them to virtue and to the worship of God, and that he used to compose all differences among them. In the year 1590, God inspired a young scholar at the university of Douay, with the resolution to found a Carthusian monastery in his own country; this was John Vassour, Seigneur de Rabadingue. The resolution grew with his years and studies, and in the end he fulfilled it at Laboutillerie*. St. Edmund, who was born of poor parents at Abingdon, was sent to Paris to study; such was the ardour and the facility for learning in those ages. His mother gave him a hair shirt, which he was to wear twice or thrice a week. When he used to go out into the fields with other boys, he would withdraw himself, and walk alone to meditate, and every night on going to bed, he used to write the name of Jesus with his finger on his forehead. And the writer of his life says, that he used to be advised by him to do the same. The origin of this practice was thus related: "One day, having as usual left his companions in order to walk

* Hist. des Saints de Lille et Douai, 660.

alone through the meadows to meditate, he met a beautiful boy, who looked like an angel from heaven. This stranger saluted him familiarly, and when Edmund expressed surprise, he said, 'I wonder that I should be unknown to you, since I always sit by your side in school, and am constantly in your company, and follow you wherever you go.' Edmund perceived him to be our Lord, and he was then told by him to write his name, Jesus Nazarenus, every night upon his forehead, diligently and deliberately, for that this would be a defence to him against sudden death*; and St. Edmund accordingly charged his friend to adopt that exercise." While at college he had a Psalter with a gloss, a book of the twelve Prophets, also glossed, and the decretal Epistles; all which books he sold, and full of compassion gave the price to poor scholars. One scholar, having an infirmity in the hand, Edmund gave a large sum of money to a physician to cure him.

The ardour for studies among the saintly disciples, is often mentioned in the annals of monastic schools. The father of Abundus, we read, did not wish that his son should continue as a student. He was a pious youth, and had a face like an angel; his mother privately gave him the habit which scholars wear in the churches, and sent him to another school; and the innocent boy was thus enabled by his mother's affection and firmness to pursue the life which he loved in the church and in the schools†. Guibert de Nogent furnishes another instance, but more remarkable, as he laboured under all the disadvantages of a private education, which from his statement appear to have been grievous. "My mother," he says, "reared me with the most tender care; hardly had I learned the first elements of letters, when she entrusted me to a master of grammar. This master had learned grammar late in life, and therefore had made less proficiency in the art; but what he wanted in knowledge

* A writer in the Quarterly Review, No. LXVIII., translates the words of the vision, "A practice that would secure any person from sudden death," as if there was no distinction between the soul being guarded in the event of sudden death, and the body being secured from death.

† Hist. Monasterii Villariensis, Lib. II. cap. 10. apud Martene Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

he made up in virtue. From the moment in which I was placed under his direction, he formed me to such purity, he kept me at such a distance from all the vices which often accompany early life, that I was preserved from the usual dangers. However, notwithstanding all my application, I made but little progress under him; though he used to give me a shower of blows, he yet evinced such friendship for me, he occupied himself so much about me, he watched with such assiduity for my safety, that so far from experiencing the fear which is usual in that age, I used to forget all his severity, and I obeyed him with a certain feeling of love. On one occasion, my mother discovered that I had been ill-treated, complained bitterly of my master, and said, 'I no longer wish you to become a clerk, if in order to learn letters you must suffer such treatment;' but as for me, when I heard her words, looking at her with all the anger that I was capable of showing, I said, 'though it would be necessary for me to die, I would not cease on that account to learn letters, and to wish to become a clerk.'" Victor Hugo paints the ideal of a student of this kind, amidst the more dangerous companions of the university, "the scholar Frollo," he says, "was early taught Latin, and he grew in stature over the Lexicon. Silent, peaceable, and modest, he was never implicated in any of the mutinies of scholars, nor was he ever engaged in quarrels, nor for the cry, 'dare alapas et capillos laniare;' but to make amends, he was assiduous at the greater and lesser schools of the rue Saint-Jean de Beauvais. The first scholar whom the abbot of St. Pierre-de-Val, the moment he began his lecture of canon law, used to perceive, always glued, opposite his chair, to a pillar of the school of Saint-Vendregesile, armed with his ink-horn, chewing his pen, scribbling on his worn knees, and in winter blowing on his fingers, was Claude Frollo. The first auditor whom Messire Miles d'Islien, doctor in decretals, saw arrive every Monday morning, quite out of breath, at the gate of the school of the Chef-Saint-Denis, was Claude Frollo. Hence at sixteen, the young clerk could have made head in mystical theology with a doctor of the church, in canon law with a father of the councils, in scholastic theology with a doctor of Sorbonne."

The young Archduke Leopold of Austria maintained a thesis of philosophy and theology against some fathers of

the society of Jesus, in presence of the Emperor Ferdinand II., his father, and the whole council. Where there was not this virtue and zeal for learning in youth, we sometimes find in the writers of the middle ages the reflections of after life, expressed in language of the most affecting piety. Such an instance occurs in the Testament of Lydgate, the monk of Bury, in which he speaks of his youth at the age of fifteen years as follows:

" Voyde of reason, gyven to wylfulnesse,
Frowarde to virtue, of Christ gave lytell hede,
Lothe to lerne, loved no vertuous besynesse,
Save play or myrth, straung to spell or rede,
Folowyng all appetytes longyng to chyldhede,
Lightly tournyng; wylde and selde sadde,
Wepyng for nought, and a none after gladde.

For lytell worth to stryve with my felawe,
As my passyons dyd my bridell lede,
Of the yarde stode I somtyme in awe
To be scoured, that was all my drede,
Loth towarde scole, lost my tyme in dede,
Lyke a yong colt that ranne without bridell,
Made my frendes gyve good to speade in ydell.

I had in custome to come to scole late,
Not for to lerne, but for a countenaunce
With my felowes redy to debate,
To jangle and jape, was set all my plesaunce,
Whereof rebuked, this was my chevynaunce
To forge a lesyng, and there upon to muse,
When I trespassed, myself to excuse.

To my better dyd no reverence,
Of my soveraynes gave no force at all,
Were obstynate by inobedyence,
Ranne into gardeyns, appels there I stoll,
To gather fruites spared hedge nor wall,
To plucke grapes on other mennes vynes,
Was more redy than for to say mattynes.

Lothe to ryse, lother to bedde at eve,
With unwasshe handes redy to dynere,
My pater noster, my crede, or my beleve
Cast to the cocke; lo this was my manere,
Waved with eche wynde, as dothe a rede spere,
Snobbed of my frendes such tatches ta mende,
Made deffe eare, lyst not to them attende.

My port, my pase, my fote alway unstable,
My loke, myne eyen, unsure and vacabounde,
In all my workes sodenly chaungeable,
To all good thengs contrary I was founde;
Nowe oversad, now mournyng; nowe jocounde.
Wylfull, reckeles, madde; startyng as an hare
To folowe my lust, for nothyng wolde I spare.

Entryng this tyme into relygion,
Unto the ploughe I put forthe my hande,
A yere complete made my professyon,
Consydering lytell change of thylke bande
Of perfectyon, full good example I founde,
The techyng good, in me was all the lacke,
With Lottes wyfe, I loked oft a backe.

Taught of my maisters, by virtuous dysciplyne,
My loke restrayne, and kepe close my syght,
Of blessed Benet to folowe the doctryne,
And bere me lowly to every mener wyht,
By th' advertence of myne inwarde syght,
Cast to God warde of holy affectyon,
To folowe th' emprises of my professyon."

This disposition, even in the most negligent, to recognize the virtue of the masters of their youth, is characteristic of these ages of faith, when religion secured for all persons in authority that filial reverence to which length of days is promised. Even Quintilian admonishes the disciples that they should love their preceptors no less than the studies themselves, and believe them to be the fathers, not indeed of their bodies but of their minds, and he adds, that this piety conduces much to study *. Dante says, that so long as life endures his tongue shall speak how he did prize the lessons of Brunetto, and when he meets that benign paternal image of his ancient master he says, "I dared not tread on equal ground with him, but held my head bent down, as one who walks in reverent guise." Octavian de Saint-Gelais, who wrote the Séjour d'honneur, in the reign of Charles VIII., describes in an affecting manner, how he met the shade of his old master, Magister Martin, when traversing the forest of adventures, whom he styles, Mon feu patron et tres honoré maistre.

* Instit. Orat. Lib. II. 10.

" Interpréteur de la saincte pagine
Aigle d'honneur, philosophe tres-digne,
Ha que moult fut mon mal pesant et grief,
De voir mon maistre et personne honorée,
Hors du siècle.—
A Paris fut jadis mon directeur,
A Sainte Barbe, en son noble collége
Régent fut-il de mes frères et moy,
Puys son sçavoir le logea chez le roy,
Ou il vivant en honneur transitoire,
Fut convaincu par mortelle victoire *."

In the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, the manner of teaching was according to the practice that still prevails in the public schools of Rome and Padua, and of other places. The master delivered his explanation like an harangue; the scholars retained what they could, and often took down short notes to help their memory. "The act of instruction, viva voce," says Vincent of Beauvais, " has I know not what hidden energy, and sounds more forcibly in the ears of a disciple transfused from the mouth of a master †." Quinctilian had made the same remark, proving the superior advantage of oral instruction over every other; and he says, that youths should never be permitted to testify their approbation in a noisy manner, but that they should hang on the judgment of the teacher, and should believe that to be well said which is approved of by him; as for that indecorous, and theatrical, and most vicious custom, of giving applause to each other, it should be never permitted, being contrary to scholastic institution, and the most pernicious enemy of studies; but they should attend to the masters modestly and intensely, and the master ought not to attend to the judgment of the disciples, but the disciples to that of the master. Who would not now suppose that this was written by some scholastic monk of the middle ages? and yet they are the words of Quinctilian ‡; so much farther removed are we than our Catholic forefathers from the wisdom of the ancient civilization. A correct idea of the mode of instruction in monastic schools may be formed from examining the four ancient

* Gouget, Tom. X.
† Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. I. c. 37.
‡ Instit. Orat. Lib. II. 2.

tombs of doctors, which are in the cloisters of the convent of St. Dominic at Bologna, where each doctor is represented sitting in the midst with a book open before him, which he explains, as is indicated by his hand stretched out, while around or in front is seated a crowd of students in a religious habit, who are placed before desks, on which they are writing down as if from his lecture, or turning round to consult each other. These groups have, indeed, an air of antiquity, which denotes that they refer to days gone by; but yet the venerable aspect of our college halls during an academic discourse, can often revive within one a sense of the ancient dignity of learning, and inspire that noble confidence which the Roman orator desired to feel before his judges; for as everywhere else truth has little support and but little strength, so in these places one feels that false envious prejudice is weak, that while it may prevail in popular assemblies, here it must be prostrate; its force is in the opinions of the unlearned, but it is far from the understanding of the prudent: its sudden and vehement impulses giving place, after a while, to senile lamentations *, can never enter within the walls which hear of universal tradition, Catholic authority, and immutable eternal truth. It is with a feeling of devotion that one enters the school-rooms in the monasteries of Rome and Bologna, in which there is always an image or portrait of our blessed Lady. The world and all its miserable interests, all its fears and commotions, its rumours, and its policies, seem excluded; here youth was placed beyond the hearing of the horrors of political debate; while cities are in a ferment, and chambers of assembly resound to the sanguine declamation of inflammatory orators, the meek and cheerful scholar consorts with his Virgil or his Thomas à Kempis, and enjoys bright and saintly visions. If the rumour of discord should penetrate to their quiet halls, the young will still never put on the visage of the times, and be, like them, to gentle spirits troublesome. Better they would esteem it to be at once compromised, like the children of Mycale, who fell under the murderous sword of Thracians, though that was an event which of all others in the Peloponnesian war, Thucydides thought the most worthy of being lamented and compassionated †.

* Pro A. Cluentio. † Lib. VII. 29.

When the English college at Douai was invaded by the agents of the revolution, by spies and guards, it might have been presupposed that no one could then venture to retain his cheerfulness, *οὐδὲ μάλ' ἠβῶν*. But there was only occasion given to show, as a venerable priest observes, "what college boys can do in the way of generous self-devotion and dauntless enterprise; for every one then was intent upon devising and practising some ingenious plan to rescue various articles of value from the grasp of the plunderers. To carry off a lamp or a sacred vestment some would ascend the funnels of chimneys, and others would descend the external walls by ropes to enter windows of forbidden rooms. Strange as it may appear," continues the narrator, "never do I remember a more cheerful flow of spirits than what was manifested during the whole time. We sang God save the King and Dulce Domum. Such a behaviour astonished every one, friends and enemies wondered alike how we could sing in such circumstances, and sometimes heaved a sigh of concern to tell us we did not know what we had still to expect. Our classical and devotional exercises went on as usual, and continued till the 9th of August, when the message came on Saturday night, which ordered us to leave the college for a prison. The clock had struck eight, and we were waiting for the summons to night prayers. We were soon ready, for we had little to carry away. Some went to take their last farewell of the church, by a short prayer before the altars, which, alas! were soon to be no more." Thus closed the oldest seminary of English Catholics, the mother and nurse of so many martyrs, the bulwark of faith, as Baronius calls it, created by God to protect the Catholics of this land against the blasts of heresy. It was overthrown by French atheists in the frenzy of revolutionary zeal; but it was reserved for the statesmen in our age of that people which of all the world boasts to be the most generous, in the cool deliberation of their cabinet, under the cloak of a zeal for God's unpolluted worship, by a judicial sentence, pronounced in all the solemn forms of equity, to legalize and consummate its ruin.

It will now be necessary to retrace our steps in order to allude to the rise of the universities, which was preparing a new æra in scholastic history, and there were circumstances attendant on this transition which must be noticed. No-

thing is more certain than that the purest and noblest motives, and the most enlarged charity, gave birth to these great institutions. At all times it was considered a meritorious application of alms to support poor scholars in the academies of learning, and to contribute to their education. Origen from the age of eighteen exercised himself in the work of instruction, and refused every present that his friends offered him, although he was obliged to sell his books of grammar for four obols, which a man promised to pay him per day for his nourishment. In the tenth century, we read that Wolfgang, afterwards Bishop of Ratisbon, would receive no honours or emoluments from his intimate friend, Otho of Treves, but at length he yielded so far, that scholastic boys and youths should be committed to his care without any remuneration; this was before he had retired to the monastery of Einsedelin, whence he was raised to the see of Ratisbon. The same charitable zeal for the education of youth distinguished the Belgian prelates, of one of whom it is said, such was his solicitude in educating boys, and in instituting scholastic discipline, that even when he went on a journey, whether long or short, he led his young scholars with him, for whom he had also a preceptor and a quantity of books, with the other utensils of scholars*. In the will of Charles de Balzac, Bishop of Noyou, it was ordained that Montlhery, and three other places, should each furnish a boy to be presented by the curate to the Celestines of Marcoucis, from whom he was to receive, during three years, the sum of one hundred livres, to enable him to study at college, while the same sum was to be paid, as a marriage portion, to a maiden of each place†. In many places, as at Rome, education was wholly gratuitous. The Archduke Leopold of Austria, besides repairing deserted or ruined churches, and enriching many episcopal sees, founded for the augmentation of the Catholic faith, numerous classes for young scholars; he established colleges and seminaries, building them in a style of magnificence, and giving the government of them to learned monks. François de la Béraudiere, Bishop of Périgueux, founded a seminary in that city, and placed a versified inscription upon it, stating,

* Mabillon, Præfat. in V. Sæcul. Benedict. 3.

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, X. 184.

that in quitting the world he left to posterity his book, his church rebuilt, second to no other, and a seminary founded at his expense for the nourishment of poor scholars. "May gracious heaven grant," it added, "that posterity may receive great utility, and may God vouchsafe pardon for my past sins *." Sometimes these poor scholars were supported by casual charities. In the year 1246, there was established at Rheims the scholastic society of the Good Children, which imposed a rigorous rule of religion, having obtained it from Archbishop Ivelle. These poor scholars were directed occasionally to go out two by two to beg alms for the community †. Sometimes they were indebted for their education to the charity of individuals. Monteil speaks of a note by Pierre Pisgier, a monk of the Augustinian monastery of Tours, respecting an alms of fifty sols tournoys, which the king had given him to support him during his studies in the university of Angiers ‡. Pope St. Urban V. supported more than a thousand scholars at different academies, and supplied them with books.

Unquestionably, the zeal for learning was fervent at the time when the universities arose: yet it would be a great mistake to imagine that they owed their origin to a mere human ambition for promoting science and literature. It was simply faith and charity which originally led to their foundation; for the will and power of kings would not have sufficed to establish them if religion had not inflamed many of their subjects with a desire to impart to the poor the inestimable advantages of sacred learning. The colleges of the university of Paris were founded by devout persons for poor scholars. That of Navarre was founded by Jeanne de Navarre, wife of Philippe-le-Bel, in the year 1304. This was for seventy poor scholars, twenty children students in grammar, thirty students in logic and philosophy, and twenty in theology. The grammarians were to receive four sols per week, the philosophers six, and the theologians eight. The college of Thirty-three, on the mountain of St. Geneviève, was founded by a poor priest for poor students of theology, to the number indicated in the

* Gouget, XVI. 13

† Anquetil, Hist. de Reims, Liv. III.

‡ Hist. des Français, IV. 412.

name, corresponding with the years of our Saviour's life. The college of Boncourt was founded in 1357, for eight poor students, who were to have each four sols per week; and the celebrated Scotch college, founded in 1323, by David, Bishop of Murrai, in Scotland, was also for poor Scotch students. Mary Stuart made them legacies at her death *. The college of Cornouaille, in Paris, was founded in 1317, by a clerk of Brittany, for poor scholars of the diocese of Cornouaille. The college of the Lombards was founded in 1333, for Italian scholars who should not have more than twenty livres of rent: it was called the House of Poor Italian Scholars of the charity of the Blessed Mary. The college of Montaign was founded in 1314 for eighty-four poor scholars, in honour of the twelve apostles and the seventy-two disciples. The Sorbonne itself, according to the plan of Robert de Sorbonne, was for the poor: it was a community of poor masters, "pauperes magistri," who were to give lessons gratis. The college of Boissi was for scholars who resembled its humble founder, Etienne Vidé, who declared that they must be poor and of low origin, "qui non sint nobiles, sed de humili plebe, et pauperes, sicut nos et prædecessores nostri fuimus." The college of Harcour was founded in 1280, by Raoul de Harcour, a canon of Paris, of an illustrious house of Normandy, for poor scholars of that province.

The same spirit gave rise to all the similar foundations in England, Spain, Germany, and Italy. At Pavia there are gratuitous colleges of a magnificent order, founded and still supported by noble families, the Caccian and Borromeon, the last of which supports thirty-two students. Some colleges were appropriated to particular nations or orders. Such were at Bologna the magnificent college for Spaniards and that of the Belgians, founded by a silversmith of Brussels for youths of that city, who were to be chosen there by the company of silversmiths. But generally, poverty alone had privileges in these places of learning; and if the rich did repair to them, they were admitted only on condition of conforming to the discipline of the poor. In the university of Pisa the scholars were obliged to be dressed in a kind of uniform of a given colour. The cloth was of inferior quality

* De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, Tom. III. 603.

and of a low price, and even the greatest and wealthiest signor, who was inscribed on the roll of scholars, was forbidden to put on a more noble cloth *. In some colleges at Paris the students could only expend one sous per day for their nourishment. The offices each day were terminated with prayer for the souls of the charitable founders†. Not even a state of utter destitution excluded youth from the advantages of a university education. The class of Spanish students who live upon the alms dispensed at the gates of convents, who have no other property than their class-book and their gown, and some of them no other lodging but the peristyle of some church, may be seen at the present day regularly attending the classes, receiving degrees, and not unfrequently carrying off academical aud ecclesiastical honours by their sheer merit, without having any other recommendation. At the end of the annual course they quit the town, and wander about all the summer in bands of four or six, provided with guitars, singing student songs, and begging alms. Many students, who belong to rich and noble families, consider it a refinement of gentility to join these bands, whose manners have created a certain simple and romantic character, that is now almost peculiar to the Spanish student.

In consequence of the advantages afforded to learning in the universities, it became a desirable object for the monks, who inhabited the provinces, to have houses there for the reception of a certain number of their students, who might still dwell in cloisters, so as not to acquire the spirit of the world ‡; and accordingly other colleges were built for that purpose. So early as in the eighth century, the monasteries of Clairvaux and Villemoustiers, and others, had houses for students in Paris §, but in the thirteenth century the custom became general. The college of Cluni, in Paris, was for students of that order, who should be sent to Paris to pursue their studies. It was founded in the year 1269. In the time of our Henry IV. the monks of Crowland speak of their

* Statuta Studii Pisani et Flor. ann. 1479.

† Monteil, Tom. IV.

‡ Mabillon de Stud. Monast. XII.

§ Hist. Monasterii Villariensis, I. cap. 8, apud Marten. Thesaur. Anecdot. Tom. III.

scholars studying at Cambridge *. John Wysbech, abbot of Crowland, in Edward IV.'s time, built chambers in the college of the monks of Buckingham at Cambridge, for the use of the scholars of Crowland who might be sent there to prosecute their studies †. The Benedictines of Canterbury, Durham, and Gloucester, had separate colleges under those names for their youth at Oxford. Each convent in Paris had scholars from convents of its order in the distant provinces, and even from those in England and Germany. There was a college there for the students of the abbey of St. Denis ‡. And this was the case at all the other universities of Europe. The provincial Council of Cologne in the year 1536, recommended that some of the junior monks of each monastery should be sent to Catholic universities. Nevertheless, there were evils attending this arrangement which made devout men in those ages lament the preference given to the system of universities over that of the ancient monastic schools, and some will be of opinion, that the experience of centuries has only confirmed the justice of their apprehensions §. We shall see in another place that the abbots were alarmed at sending their students to inhabit cities, and that the young men were themselves unwilling to go. The congregation of the Scholars' Valley arose in the year 1201. Four professors of the university of Paris, preferring solitude to the world, and the life of contemplation to the glory of the schools, retired into a desert valley of Champagne, in the diocese of Langres, where the bishop allowed them to build cells. Some young scholars of the university followed them to this solitude, and this re-union of young disciples constituted the congregation or order of the Vale of Scholars ||. The most exact discipline was indeed maintained in the monastic colleges in the universities. The rules for the students of Cluni, when pursuing their studies at Paris, were very strict: they were never to go into the city excepting with leave of the superior, and attended by masters. The utmost sanctity was to reign in the college ¶. But still, amidst such a multitude of

* Hist. Croylandensis, Rer. Anglic. Scriptor. Tom. I.
† Id. 560. ‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, III.
§ Joan. Devoti Instit. Canonic. Lib. II. tit. 11.
|| De St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, II. 1214.
¶ Henrici I. Abb. Clun. 29, Statuta Bibliothec. Cluniac.

scholars from all nations, it was impossible to obviate every evil. St. Augustin removed from Carthage to Rome in consequence of the boisterous manners of the students in the former school. "The chief cause of my going to Rome," he says, "was my hearing that young men studied there more quietly, and that they were kept in order by a better discipline: that they might not break insolently into the school of a master whom they did not follow. At Carthage, the licence of the scholars is odious and intemperate: they burst in furiously, and commit so many injuries with wonderful stupidity; for which laws should punish them unless custom were a patron. They think they do all this with impunity, when in fact they are punished by that very blindness, and suffer incomparably worse things than they inflict upon others. So I resolved to remove where such manners were not to prevail*." Jacobus a Vitriacus, in his Historia Occidentale, gives a dark, but no doubt exaggerated picture, of the disputes and jealousies among the scholars of different nations in the university of Paris. The French were styled proud and effeminate, the Teutonic nations furious, the English were taxed with being drinkers: though it is to be remarked, that Fuller speaks of drinking and swearing among the lower classes as having begun to grow frequent in his own time, subsequent to the pseudo-reformation†, when Milton, fallen on evil days, had to beseech his Muse to drive far off the barbarous dissonance of Bacchus and his revellers‡; to which epoch also must be traced the testimony of Poggio, where, in a letter to Nicholas Niccoli, he says, that the English were more occupied with eating and drinking than with letters. The Normans were styled vain-glorious, the Burgundians senseless and gross, the Britons light and inconstant, to whom the death of Arthur used frequently to be objected, the Lombards were said to be avaricious, the Romans seditious, the Sicilians cruel and tyrannic, the Flemings prodigal and gluttonous. One can detect, however, in this the fertile invention of a satirist, magnifying the peculiarity of national character; neither is it fair to confound the scholars who were receiving their education at the university, with those

* Confess. Lib. V.

† Fuller's Thoughts, 53.

‡ VII.

external pensioners who used to be called Martinets, because not belonging to any college, they flew like swallows from one to another, and staid only at that which suited them the best. After all, though the innocence of monastic students might fear the dissipation of a university, it is probable that the influence of the general manners which they beheld there would be felt in later ages as the inspirations of a better world. The zeal for learning, which imparted somewhat of a wandering and Homeric character to the life of scholars as well as professors, was not unaccompanied with a tender piety. Andrieu du Hecquet speaks of his studies at Paris, at Cologne, and at Louvaine, in these terms,—

> " Lettres j'apprins (car homme indocte est vain)
> En toi Paris, en Coulogne et Louvain,
> Où le tout soit à la gloire de Christ,
> Le cueur, le corps, toute l'ame et l'esprit *."

These studies were associated with many sweet recollections of a friendship that was almost angelical, where names were not even mutually known, but only countenances, and what was common between all, the love of learning and the reverence for holy Church; for these friends saw each other only in the schools and before the divine altars. In some places, indeed, a less secluded discipline was established in union with certain forms of a poetic life, as in the universities of Spain, where the students are allowed to go into society, or to perform a serenade, to as late an hour as nine in the evening on Sundays and the fifth feria, but at other times a student is not allowed to appear in public with his guitar, although it is an instrument almost inseparable from him. The scholars in the colleges of Paris used to visit Gentilly and two other villages in their customary walks, which used to be called Ire ad Campos †. The leave to play or for the promenade, were themes which the old poets of France did not disdain to choose. One of our ancient writers says, " Before this time there was an old custome for the scholars of London to meet at the priory of St. Bartholomew, to dispute in logic and grammar,

* Gouget, Biblioth. Française, Tom. XII.
† Lebeuf, X. 13.

upon a bank under a tree." A joyful festival was that of St. Catharine to the students of Padua; it was denominated the Feast of Hope. Sometimes the mirth of public rejoicings was allowed to penetrate within universities. A contemporary writer relates that, during those which took place after the battle of Bouvines, in the reign of Philip-Augustus, the scholars of the university of Paris, not content with the joy of one day, protracted their triumph during seven days, dancing and singing continually. Aristotle was silent all that time; Plato proposed no questions; all books were laid aside; but the κῶμος, which Pindar condescends to notice as the contumacious diversion of boys, throwing all things into confusion, was not required for their enjoyment; neither did their discipline permit the rougher exercises of boxing and the pancration to form athletic champions, which were both prohibited by the Spartan discipline; and yet Aristotle says, that even that tended to make youth too brutal, θηριώδεις *. Tiberius, to render his son Drusus odious for the character of cruelty, permitted him to be present at the combat of gladiators †. In reading Mabillon's account of the foundation of the Benedictine public schools in Germany, we might imagine that it was a passage from the writings of Plato, to explain the ideal end of a perfect education; for he says that these schools were instituted, in which an uncultivated and savage race by degrees might be taught to lay aside their hard rough manners, and being exercised in a mild and holy discipline, might be rendered gentle and humane ‡. The innocent and simple recreations of a country life belonged to students even while attending the monastic schools, where they would have felt less fear than Ulysses at the prospect of spending a night upon a lake or river, lest they should suffer from the cold air which springs up before the dawn §. For swimming there was even provision made where rivers were not near. With the ancients, baths for swimming were provided with porticoes, gardens, libraries, and places where philosophers might discourse and poets recite their verses. Agrippa was the first to establish one of these baths at Rome. Here were places for all exercises of the body

* Polit. VIII. 3. † Tacit. Ann. 1.
‡ Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Benedict. § 4. § Od. V. 469.

and amusement of the mind. The famous Ulpian Library was in the baths of Diocletian. In the middle ages the predominance of the swimmer's sport may be learned from those paintings in the palace of Tau at Mantua, which represent the diversions of the different seasons. Places for swimming were provided by Charlemagne in the neighbourhood of his schools, and we discover frequently in the monastic chronicles allusion to the healthful and manly recreations which were permitted to their scholars. But whatever licence in this respect might prevail in universities, learning continued to be grave, and solid, and religious, and had not then yielded place to the modern philosophic system of education, in which students are chiefly employed in constant little manipulations, and are taught, like the boy in Goetz Von Berlichengen, not to know their own father from their learning, or rather, as Bonald says, because they pin butterflies, glue plants, or arrange little morsels of mineral substances: natural philosophy was not an essential part of studies, but the primary and indispensible object was to train the young to love what ought to be loved, and to hate what ought to be hated, and according to Plato, that is the true end of all education *.

The studies of seculars in the courts of nobility were such as were useful as well as interesting to youth; for the scholastic doctors do not seem to have been in ignorance of what was the proper learning for noblemen. The book of instruction entitled L'Esperon de Discipline, by Antoine du Saix, which was composed for Charles, Duke of Savoy, contains a view of all virtues and vices, and an abridgment of all branches of knowledge, and of every thing that belongs to the education of youth, both relating to the mind and body. The Abbé Gouget admits that the author shows a profound knowledge of human nature, and that his idea of education was admirable †. For the clergy and for the priests of letters, the universities provided, no doubt, higher studies. The chairs of theology, founded in the Sorbonne, were seven in number, consisting of that of reader, that of contemplative theology, that of positive theology, that of the interpretation of the holy Scriptures, that of casuistry, that of controversial divinity, and the seventh was con-

* De Legibus, Liv. II. † Tom. XI. 376.

secrated to the interpretation of the Hebrew text of Scripture. Who can doubt but that in these schools Raphael would have found subjects more adapted to his genius than that which was furnished to him by the school of Athens, which he revived in his immortal painting on the walls of the Vatican, when one observes the success which crowned his sublime enterprise to represent the dispute on the mystery of the blessed sacrament? And remark too what a contrast would be found if one were to assist with the eyes of an artist or of a poet at the polemical discussions which have succeeded in some places to the scholastic disputations of the ages of faith! But give the reins to imagination, and try to conceive a scene of the highest intellectual and even poetic interest: your mind's creation will fall short of the reality which Catholic schools have witnessed! In the year 1304, a crowd of clerks, monks, and laymen, were assembled in the great hall of the university of Paris to hear a thesis which was to be sustained de quolibet. There were fourteen scholastic champions, and it was a young stranger of lofty and thoughtful countenance who was to sustain their attack. This stranger was Dante, who, being then in exile, had travelled into France for his instruction.

"Theologus Dantes, nullius dogmatis expers,"

was the verse first inscribed at Ravenna upon his tomb.

But it is time to break off, though one would stand charmed and for ever unwearied in the holy and peaceful retreats of Catholic learning. Let us still speak of them as we move away. Pliny, in setting forth the praise of Isacus the rhetorician, contrasts the school with the forum, and says he has passed his sixtieth year, and still he is only a scholastic,—than which kind of men there is nothing simpler, or purer, or better. The forum inspires the best men with some degree of malice: the school being concerned with fictitious causes, is a peaceful and innocent thing, neither is it less happy, especially to old men; for what can be happier in old age than that which is most sweet in youth *? "Nam quid in senectute felicius quam quod dulcissimum est in

* Epist. Lib. II. 3.

juventa?" The Catholic schools provided that safety for the philosophic nature which was sought for with such anxiety by Plato, though he seems to have considered its attainment as impracticable. "Where can we find safety for it?" he asks, "and where are there means existing to enable it to arrive at its end? We have seen that to such a nature belong, of necessity, the talent of learning with ease, and memory, and courage and magnanimity: therefore, from early youth, such a person will be first among all πρῶτος ἔσται ἐν ἅπασιν, especially if he should have, in addition, a body corresponding to these dispositions of soul: therefore I think that his relations and fellow-citizens will desire to have him in their interests when he grows up; they will consequently fawn upon him and give him many salutations, flattering his future power. Living, then, surrounded by them, what will such a man do? particularly if he be a native of a great city, and rich, and noble of race, and besides, handsome and tall? Will he not be filled with a hope which nothing can subdue, thinking himself competent to conduct the affairs of both Greeks and Barbarians? Will he not adopt a high pompous manner, full of specious and dramatic action, being swollen with vain and senseless pride *?" Now in these Catholic schools, which we may well leave with regret, that philosophic nature was sanctified and preserved; there were no flatterers, and no temptations opposed to the manners of an innocent angelic life: there was not the knowledge of evil. The cares of the worldly race were so excluded, that it became scholars' fashion to take no trouble about the things of life, as if all necessaries would wait upon us at the instant we want them. Pride was kept down, for there were no inquiries there instituted as to nobility of birth or prospects of future power. There was not found the proud disdain or supercilious neglect of those, who with themselves at war, forget the shows of love to other men. Courtesy to strangers was expressly required as a criterion of proficiency. The meek were there the favourites, and the wisest and the greatest were the most humble. In a word, every thing estimable and precious was comprised within the school. There were devout exercises, the resources of piety, the delights of music, the

* Plat. de Repub. Lib. VI.

solemn choir, the poetry of the groves and streams, the communications of study, the exhilaration of play, the sanctifying influence of example, the sweets of friendship, of which the poet is obliged to return here for the purest example,—

> ——— "O! and is all forgot?
> All school-days' friendship, childhood, innocence?"

A brief review of the character of friendship during the ages of faith, will form the conclusion of this third Book.

CHAPTER VII.

FRIENDSHIP, that sweet engaging word, which awakens so many pure affections, so many grateful recollections, that word so familiar to the tongue of youth, which was shouted in play, and looked in study, and whispered every morning at the altar of God, friendship, that musical, poetic, religious word, to exhilarate the joyful, to encourage the diligent, to console the wretched, is associated most intimately with the manners of the ages of faith, with the days of scholastic education, and with every conception that we can form of the present and eternal beatitude of the meek. It is not possible, says an ancient sage, either that a wicked man should be a friend to a wicked man, or that a good man should not be a friend to a good man*: profound and piercing words that may lead many to meditate on the vanity of their own hopes, and not a few perchance to see evidence that their own piety, notwithstanding the zeal which seems to animate them for God's honour, is hypocritical and false. Cardan inserts it among his maxims of civil prudence that there can be no such thing as friendship, excepting between the wise, who may be called philosophers†. Understanding, he says, that our

* Plato, Phædrus. † Prudent. Civ. cap. VI.

religion is the only true philosophy, for that not even conformity of studies, of literary or scientific principles can yield it, is shown by Aristotle, who observes, that the common bonds which give rise to friendship, do not consist in thinking alike with respect to the heavenly bodies, for there is no ground of love in unanimity on such matters; but that it must be of a more general description, and therefore goodness is requisite, for it is not possible, he adds, that evil men should think alike excepting within very confined limits *. Friendship is clearly a treasure unattainable to the proud, who can endure nothing that is contrary to their own caprice and customs, unattainable to scorners, who despise the things which are excellent, because the good will fly from such men, unattainable to the vain and dissipated, who can only receive words for words, tokens of an acquaintance, which is itself an unhappiness, unattainable to all men whose manners are not formed to meekness, unless, indeed, we dignify with the name of friendship such a passion as that of the barbarous Huns, who are described as so capricious and choleric, that they would separate from their companions without any cause of anger, and return to them without any reason for reconciliation in one and the same day; for the refinement of more civilized society cannot of itself present any higher claims to it, since that only tends to destroy the simplicity and truth which the ancients, as John of Salisbury remarks †, deemed so essential to friendship, that they used always to represent the Graces naked. That only tends to make men hold their friends as Plautus says, enclosed within their teeth, having not confidence enough even to pronounce their name ‡; that only tends to make them suspect each other, though they speak together as if friends; through its influence they are taught to receive the words of those who perhaps truly love them, as those of an enemy, and are thus deceived by their own dread of deception. What is this, cries St. Odo in his collations, but the wretchedness of human life §? The truth is, and to express it in the words of St. Augustin, men can never love one another with true

* Ethic. Lib. IX. 6. † De Nugis Curial. III. 7.
‡ Plautus Trinummus IV. 2.
§ S. Odonis Collation. Lib. I. Bibliothec. Cluniac.

love unless they love God. But he who loves God will love his neighbour as himself *. Hence the friendship of the meek is immutable. "I have read in your letters," says Petrus Cellensis writing to Bernerdo, "that you have lost old friends without having found new. But true friendship in virgin purity and constancy of fervour can never be adulterated or cooled. It never dies, but with a daily renovation, like the sun is always in vigour. Therefore if you ever had friends you have them still, not old, which denoted what was imperfect, but renewed which is the work of God†." The Catholic religion in many ways conduced to the formation as well as to the solidity of friendship; the multiplication of those innocent and useful relations which sweeten and adorn the life of men followed of necessity from that principle of association which we have seen emanated from the church, and gave a new form to society. In all common pursuits ἐν ἁπάσῃ κοινωνίᾳ, there is friendship, says Aristotle. In all companionship there is love. In sailing together, or labouring together, or reading together, and similarly in all other common sufferings or performing, in proportion as there is fellowship there is friendship ‡. Now we have already seen how the Catholic religion extended these common bonds, and associated men together in a thousand forms of connection, who otherwise would have been isolated and separate, and therefore it furnished a soil most favourable to this sweetest flower of friendship. Another way in which the religion of the meek promoted its growth, consisted in its removing the artificial barriers into which pride divides the world. "By the law of friendship," says the blessed Œlred, abbot of Rievaulx, "the superior is on a level with the inferior, for it frequently happens that some of an inferior rank, or order, or science, are taken into friendship by others of more pre-eminence, who must then despise and esteem as nothing all the things which are not of nature; they must have constant regard to the beauty of friendship, which is not adorned by silks or gems, nor dilated by possessions, nor flattered by delights, nor exalted by honours and dignities; and thus recurring to the principle of its

* Tractat. 87 in Joan.

† Petri Abb. Cellensis Epist. Lib. IX. 2. ‡ Ethic. Lib. VIII. c. 9.

origin, they must acutely attend to the equality which nature gave, and not to the appendages which cupidity has superinduced. Therefore, in friendship which is the best gift both of nature and of grace, the sublime descend, the humble ascend, the rich want, the poor are enriched, so that each communicating his condition to the other, the equality spoken of is maintained*. Friendship belonged to the meek because they were weaned from the love of riches, for as Ariosto sings,

> In poor abode, mid paltry walls and bare,
> Amid discomforts and calamities,
> Often in friendship hearts united are,
> Better than under roof of lordly guise,
> Or in some royal court, beset with snare,
> Mid envious wealth, and ease, and luxuries;
> Where charity is spent on every side,
> Nor friendship unless counterfeit is spied †.

Besides this, meekness of itself fitted men for friendship. Cardan says, that the conversation of any common unlearned person from among the people, is more agreeable than that of a sophistical and learned man, because there is nothing so offensive as the pride and affectation of the wisdom of the world; but as the Catholic religion extirpated the roots of pedantry and arrogance, and made men, however learned or accomplished, speak and comport themselves like others, according to the natural sweetness of humanity, which is recognised equally in all classes, it made them also estimable, and entitled to be the objects of friendship. In fact, as the Greek poet says of generosity, the Catholic religion made men young again ‡. Catholic conversation is cheerful and popular, as it were youthful; that of the modern schools is gloomy, suspicious, pedantic, and senile. In the latter, we find a false and pretentious urbanity, refined and pompous, but ill concealing insensibility and egotism; in the former a simplicity which perhaps at first offends, but by degrees, a disposition also along with it of a subdued and smiling tone, which soothes, charms, and ravishes by its goodness. And sooth we shall the more

* De Spirit. Amicitia, Lib. III.
† Canto XLIV. Rose's translat.
‡ Eurip. Heraclid. 698.

appreciate this privilege of meekness conducing to friendship by considering what is the wretchedness of those who forfeit it; for those learned men who otherwise have the least chance of securing a friend, are precisely those to whom friendship is most necessary. Cicero remarks this in speaking of Dionysius, for he says, "What a misery must it have been to such a man to want friends and familiar conversation, one who like him was learned from a boy and skilled in ingenuous arts *." Moreover, by inducing habits of meditation and retirement, and a temper of mind essentially opposed to the spirit of Thersites, a temper devout and joyous, though softened and subdued like the bright tints in a landscape by a certain tone of sweet melancholy, that religion assisted and regulated the development of those qualities which men of acute philosophic observation like Cardan have found to be conducive to friendship; for he says, that in choosing friends, those persons ought to be selected who are by nature constant and melancholy, and who are not easily withdrawn from affections, whom we find from boyhood to have been always content with one or two companions, with whom they assiduously conversed †. He might have added too, that men who reject mysteries are not made for friendship, which Hesiod shows in saying that night was its mother. Nor is this all, for who does not perceive how greatly friendship was promoted and secured when religion taught the meek, as the blessed Francis said, to love their brother when they are far from him in the same manner as when they are with him, and never to say any thing in his absence which they could not say with charity to his face ‡? When it taught them to place in their daily memento those friends who had departed to the other world, that by prayers of faith their bliss might be advanced, or to draw consolation from that conviction of their felicity at which the remembrance of their manners enabled them to arrive? Where the principles of the Catholic religion did not exist, the most acute and reflecting men in surveying the disorders which sin and death have entailed upon humanity, have

* Tuscul. V. 22.

† Prudent. Civilis, cap. xli.

‡ S. Francisci Opuscul. De la Bigne Bibliothec. Patrum IV.

been obliged to speak of friendship in terms that are calculated to wound and shock the heart which feels that it is formed for the sweets of infinite and eternal love. They speak of it as a dangerous thing to which reason must place limits lest it should prove a source of bitterness when the hour of separation arrives, and they even teach that the heart must never venture to trust itself to perfect friendship. "Length of years hath taught me many things," says the poet, "for mortals should cherish only a moderate friendship for one another, and not an affection from the deepest marrow of the soul;

καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχᾶς.

but only a love which can be easily loosened without tearing and overpowering the soul with affliction, for an extreme friendship is too great a weight; and nothing is good when it exceeds the bounds of moderation *." What a contrast was here to the sentiments of the meek who love their friends in God; who by the mystic privileges accorded from the Mount are enabled to inherit friendship, that sweetest plant of earth, if it be not rather of heaven in all its strength and perfection, in all its beauteous and everlasting bloom! How strange sound to them the words separation and dissevering of the soul as connected with the death of friends! What mortal ever loved with more profound and intense affection than the tender Augustine, and yet he commits his sainted mother to the grave, that mother who had wept so many years for him, who was doubly his mother, having brought him forth both to the world and to heaven, reconciling him to Jesus Christ, and he feels that in regard to her he has henceforth only a higher duty to fulfil. A prudent companion is in no respect as Homer says inferior to a brother †. Such a friend did he see quietly inurned, not with the sentiments of uninstructed humanity giving vent to sorrow in the bitter cry of desolation, but with those of the renovated race in the sweet ecstacy of quiet thought meditating on everlasting gladness. "Nebrides is living in the bosom of Abraham. Yes, whatever may be intended by that bosom of Abraham, Nebrides, my

* Eurip. Hippolyt. 253. † Od. VIII. 585.

dear friend is there; for where else could be a soul so beautiful and so Christian? He is in that place of glory and repose about which he has so often questioned me. His ear is no longer attached to my lips, but his lips are attached to that source of living water which is nothing else but thee, O my God! ibi Nebridius meus vivit, et bibit quantum potest sapientiam pro aviditate suâ sine fine felix." What an extension of the sweets of friendship followed from the assurance that there is communion between the living and the dead, that there were those who already arrived at expiatory or even at supremely blessed shore might be addressing us in such words as Dante heard from the spirit of Casella.

> ——— Thee as in my mortal frame
> I lov'd, so loos'd from it I love thee still *.

William of Malmesbury relates a wondrous example which would have greatly moved the stoics of the manifestation of this ghostly friendship made after the death of the body. Robert of Lotharingia, he says, was the intimate friend of the most holy Wlstan, Bishop of Worcester. It happened that when Wlstan was sick at Worcester, and near his blessed end, Robert was at court employed about the king's affairs, when lo! Wlstan appeared to him in a vision saying, "If you wish to behold me alive hasten to Worcester." Moved by this vision, Robert obtained leave from the king to depart immediately, and he never rested night or day till he reached that city; for he feared greatly lest he should not arrive in time to find him alive, for the journey was very long. However, on arriving at the last stage, he was overcome with sleep, and Wlstan appeared to him again, saying, "You have done all that pious love demanded, but you are disappointed in your hopes, for I have departed. But dear companion, provide for your own safety, because you will not remain long after me; and to convince you that you are not deceived by a fantastic vision, this shall be a sign to you. To-morrow after you have committed my body to the earth, a gift will be presented to you in my name." Robert awoke

* Purg. II.

and proceeded on his way. On arriving at Worcester, he found the procession already marshalled to escort the saint's body to the tomb; he joined it, and then condoled with the monks of whose funeral meats he partook in silence. Already mounted on his horse, he was taking leave of the holy brethren, when lo! the prior stepped forward from the throng, and kneeling down reverently presented him a gift, saying, "My lord, accept I pray you this cap of your ancient friend made of lambskin, which he was accustomed to wear when he rode on horseback, and it will bear witness to your long friendship with our holy lord." Hearing these words and recognising the gift, the other turned pale, and a cold shuddering ran through his bones; he dismounted and waved to his attendants in sign that he suspended his departure: demanding an audience of the monks, they assembled with looks of consternation and amaze in the chapter-house, where with tears he related the circumstances of his vision, and then having commended himself heartily to the prayers of all their society, he resumed his state and departed. It was in the middle of January when Wlstan died, and Robert did not survive the succeeding June *. Of the friendship which was found to prevail during the middle ages, even in the scenes of secular dissipation, history and also the fables of chivalry, which are true representations of real manners, furnish many engaging and memorable examples. Witness the deliverance of Bouteiller and Dufresnoy, from the hands of Louis of Spain, by Sir Walter Mauny and his troop of heroic companions, one of the most noble and affecting adventures of which friendship, honour, and chivalry can boast. The old writer of the life of Bayart says, that the Duke of Nemours had so won the hearts of his companions, that they would all have died for him; and he bears the same testimony to the Seigneur de Molart, of whom he says, "tous ses gens se feussent faits mourir pour luy," and of Bayart himself, he affirms that while lieutenant of the king in Dauphiny, he so gained the affections of both nobles and peasants, that they would all have died for him. Indeed, the annals of the middle ages abound with portraits of the purest and noblest friendship, and even the *δορυξένος* of the Greeks, invested

* Will. Malmesbur. de gestis Pontif. Anglerorum. Lib. IV.

too with an interest that the muse of Euripides had never conceived, was a character familiar to them. The friendship of Bassanio and Anthonio, which in our age would be deemed unreasonable, and opposed to the decrees of domestic philosophy, was drawn by Shakspeare from the life as seen in the middle ages. We have been so imbued in other works with illustrations of this theme, that I shall be content at present with offering the instance of the friendship which is ascribed in the history of Gyron le Courtoys to Hector le Brun and Abdalon le Beau, of whom we read, "en telle maniere lung ayma lautre par telle guise et par telle amour comme se ils eussent este freres charnels. Ne oncques puis pour advanture quils trouvassent discorde ne peut venir entre deux, ne lung neut envie de l'autre en nulle maniere. Oncques ne se departerent lung de lautre, mais tousjours chevaucherent ensemble en se entre aymant. De si grant amour que lung ne povoit vivre sans lautre *." The confidence which men reposed in their friends is nobly expressed in the same history, where Gyron replies through the iron bars of his prison to one who spoke of his calamity. "My friends will hear of my adventure. Il ny a en ceste part montaigne qui puisse tenir mes amys quils ne viennent jusques a moy par fine force †." The literature which corresponds with these compositions, and which has superseded them in the courts of nobility, may pretend to greater refinement of language, and claim a place in a more philosophic order of study, but assuredly it does not furnish examples in equal abundance of the same virtue to exalt and adorn the human character: but I hasten to consider the friendship which belonged more especially to the meek during these ages, and which is sought for, not so much in fables of chivalry, though they are not without some sweet remembrance of it, as in saintly histories, and in the sentiments which have been delivered by the wise and holy. Doubtless if with clear view the intellect be fixed upon the ordinary proofs of friendship comprised within the world's annals, there will be ground rather for sadness than for joy, for it cannot be deceived by hearing the Capulets and Montagues speak of friendship when it must witness also their rivalries and wrath. "Whoever

* Gyron le Courtois, f. XXXVI. † Id. f. CCCVI.

hates one man cannot love another truly and spiritually, nor yet himself, nor God, since he is in mortal sin, as Denis the Carthusian says *." All was false and worthless that wore the semblance of love in men that to Christ's school were dead; but after rejecting every suspicious claim we are not left unprovided with bright examples that are proof against the test possessed by saints. Celebrated was the friendship of St. Paul and St. Thecla, of St. Ambrose and St. Monica, of St. Jerome and Paulina, Eustochia, Blesile and Ruffina, of saints Marcella, Albina, Asele, and Leta, of St. Francis of Assissi and St. Clare and Jacquelina, of St. Anthony of Padua and a devout person of Limoges. At an infinite distance from every thing allied to inhumanity, from all indications of a selfish, contracted, and unfeeling nature, was the self-renouncement and mortification of the saints. They were precisely the most feeling, liberal and generous of men. We find some of them acknowledging that it was for the love of a friend, after God, that they were induced to renounce the world, following him like the companions of St. Bernard to his cloister †. Gaudentius had been the playfellow of the young Count of Woycech, his fellow student in the cloistral school of Magdeberg, and when under the name of Adalbert he retired into the monastery of St. Alexius, on Mount Aventine, that faithful brother alone followed him, though still in the flower of youth. Ever constant to friendship, he left that peaceful retreat when the blessed man directed his steps to preach the Gospel to the heathen people of Prussia, accompanied him through all his dangers, and never left him till he had seen him receive the martyr's crown ‡. Passionate fervent souls, quick to conceive hopes of inexpressive joy, would you hear of a friendship suddenly formed, and yet precious as the ruddy drops that warm the feeling heart, lasting as eternity? you will find an instance in the lives of the anchorites of the desert. "Ah, Paul, why hast thou left me?" cried the holy Anthony. "Why depart without wishing

* De Arcta Via Sal. VI.

† Vita V. Walæ Abb. Corbiens. IV. Lib. I. 467 apud Mabillon Acta S. Ordin. Benedict. Sæcul. IV. P. I.

‡ Voigt. Geschichte Preussens I. B. 4. c.

me adieu! Tam tarde notus, tam cito recedis*?" Men of chivalrous honour, who profess to feel such admiration at the spectacle of moral greatness, would you behold constancy of love in death? Friendship was on the tongue of the martyrs in their passion. Then drawing from his finger a ring, he steeped it in his blood, and giving it to Pudens. "Receive it," said he to him, "as a pledge of our friendship, and let the blood which stains it remind you of that which I have shed this day for Jesus Christ†." And in fact, who than sainted fathers of the holy church have ever recognised with greater clearness the value and excellence of friendship? "The consolation of this life consists in possessing a faithful friend who may rejoice with you in prosperity, condole with you in sorrow, and exhort you in persecution." It is St. Ambrose who speaks thus. Who does not know that the express rules of holy societies prescribe companionship, and point out like the ethic page the comparative helplessness and inefficiency of man in an isolated state? Priests and religious persons of different sacred orders were not to go forth alone for Σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω men are more powerful both to think and to perform‡, a maxim which experience and the Homeric wisdom had taught to Diomede.

——— ἀλλ' εἴ τις μοι ἀνὴρ ἅμ' ἕποιτο καὶ ἄλλος
Μᾶλλον θαλπωρὴ καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἔσται§.

The great Homer has the wisdom and piety to make Agamemnon declare, in reference to Achilles, that a man who is loved by God is equivalent to a multitude of people‖. And religion found nothing in the sentence which was unworthy of the discipline of truth, that recognized a principle most dear to an heroic nature, that friends and companions are from God. Jacob, being asked by his brother concerning those that were

* S. Hieronym. Vita S. Pauli Eremit.
† Acta Martyr. in S. Perpetua.
‡ Aristot. Ethic. Lib. VIII. 1.
§ Il. X. 222.
‖ Il. IX. 116.

with him, replied "Parvuli sunt quos donavit mihi Deus servo tuo*."

The respect which was shown to friendship, and the earnestness with which its demands were urged, form a characteristic of the ages of faith, from which these latter ages of the world have sadly declined. Cicero says that friendship ought to be preferred to every thing excepting virtue, but many at present seem to esteem it a mark of superior ability and of honourable diligence, nay even of a more manly and philosophic nature to prefer the most trifling object of domestic or professional care to its advances, however earnest, as if, forsooth, it were evidence of wisdom and perfectness of life to be insensible. We find no trace of this severity, which in truth, however men may talk of philosophic discipline, savours more of the counting-house than of the cloister, in the manners of the middle ages. Their spirit was expressed by Bayart, when he said to his noble hostess at Brescia, "Toute ma vie ay plus aymé beaucoup les gens que les escus†." It seems also as if men were loved more than books, more than the dearest and most familiar pursuits, for humanity was always uppermost in the affections of those who held that only the love of Jesus Christ is durable ‡. Petrarch, describing his reception in the Carthusian monastery of Montrieu, says in his letter to those holy men, "the activity, the ardour with which you rendered me all sorts of services, the agreeable conversation I had with you in general and in particular, made me fear I should interrupt the course of your devout exercises." When St. Adalhard, abbot of Corby, was recalled from exile and restored to honour by the emperor Lewis, who had been persuaded by his enemies to banish him to the island of Heri off the coast of Aquitaine, on the day of his departure all the brethren of the abbey, in which he had spent an angelic life in close confinement for the space of seven years, were moved to tears at losing him, though they could not but rejoice that he was to be restored to his own. Ragnardus, who was afterwards abbot, being of a fervent spirit, was above all overwhelmed with affliction. So that when the holy servant of God was about to depart,

* Gen. XXXIII. † Chap. LI.
‡ De Avilla, Epist. Spirit. X.

and all the brethren were kissing his feet and his footsteps, watering them with their tears and wishing him farewell, he alone remained shut up in his cell, in order that he might not see the man depart who was dearer to him than his own life: but when the other had long inquired for him, he was at length discovered in the obscurity weeping and lamenting: being called to come forth and wish the old man farewell, he entreated the messenger to leave him to weep alone. The holy man, on hearing this, left the ship, on which he was already embarked, and returned, that he might not depart without a kiss from that brother whom he knew was holy. So he found him weeping, and they embraced and then separated. The brethren then accompanied him back to the ship. The sails were soon raised, and as long as she remained visible they stood on the shore looking after him; for the spirit of love constrained them and they could not resist it *. The greatest saints, refreshed with heavenly visions, did not pretend that the being deprived of friends and the being left solitary on earth made no sorrowful impression upon their souls. "What is the reason, my brother," writes St. Hilda to one of her correspondents, "that you have been so long absent, and that you delay to come to me? Why do you not consider that I am alone in this land, that no other brother visits me; that not any one of my relations comes to me? And if you hold back because hitherto I have been prevented from executing what you desired, you ought, on the ground of charity and relationship, to forget this, and without requiring any persuasion to change your mind. O my brother, my dear brother, how can you afflict the mind of my littleness with constant sorrow, with weeping and sadness day and night? Do you not know for a certainty, that of all living persons I prefer no one to your love? Behold, I cannot explain all things to you by letters. Now I am assured that you feel no concern about poor and humble me †." Among the epistles of St. Boniface, there is one addressed to Baldhard, in which is an affecting complaint: "the presents which were brought to me by your faithful

* Vita Adalhardi, Mabil. Acta S. Ordinis. Bened. Sæcul. IV. § 1.

† S. Bonif. Mart. et Archiep. Epist. LVI.

messenger Aldræd I have embraced with fervent charity; and now, by God's assistance, I would fulfil all that you require of me, if it might be your pleasure to come to me; for I cannot in any manner stop a fountain of tears when I see and hear of others who are going to their friends. Then I recollect how I was forsaken by my parents in my youth, and how I have remained here alone, and yet I was not forsaken by God, but I return thanks to God for his immense goodness in preserving me. And now, my brother, I ask and implore you to take away sadness from my soul, because this greatly injures me. For I say although it were to be but for the space of one day, and that then you would depart by the will of God, yet that would be sufficient to make this sorrow pass from my mind and this sadness from my heart, but if it should displease you to grant my petition, I call God to witness that it is not I who have forgotten our love *." St Boniface writes many letters in the same spirit, and similar may be found in the correspondence of St. Anselm. Mark how deeply these men felt any omission in exchange of letters. Petrus Cellensis writes as follows, to remonstrate with his friend for not having written to him: "Charity, which is patient, strange to say, only drives me to impatience. How is this? Have you no such things as charts, or is your love shortened? What is the cause of such a long silence? Is there a failing of hearts as well as bread in Britain? Of the one indeed I had heard, but I never believed that the other would succeed it. A bishop may be excused, on account of his incessant labours and the solicitude for all the churches, and his care of the afflicted and his reconciliations of enemies, but what forbids a clerk to write letters to his friend? It remains to condemn your negligence. Quia igitur oleum non misistis, aculeum sumitis †." And again to another friend he writes, "Am I to believe you a different man? or that I am changed? Friendship cannot dissemble, cannot flatter. O my dearest friend, am I to ascribe it to oblivion or to negligence that you have abstained so long from coming to salute your friend? Is it that you are occupied? But it is not gracious to be always occu-

* Id. Epist. LXIV.
† Petri Cellensis, Lib. I. Epist. XV.

pied *." On the other hand, the earnest affectionate excuses made by monks for not having written answers to the letters addressed to them by friends in distant monasteries, leave nothing incomplete in this contrast to the cold formality and proud indifference of later manners. It is not, however, to be inferred from these passages that the sincere piety and fervent spirituality of the ages of faith would have countenanced the selfish and unreasonable exaction of those triflers who imagine that their conversation ought to be always of paramount interest, so that every occupation, however holy and important, should give place to it. St. Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluny, wrote to St. Bernard, testifying how he loved and revered him, though he had never been in his presence, and saying how he had long desired to converse with him, but that his many employments and sufferings had prevented him †, and in a letter to the abbot Suger he laments, in most feeling terms, that while he is often obliged to see persons whom he has no desire to see, and to be engaged with secular applicants whom he would rather fly from, he can scarcely ever behold his beloved friend the abbot of St. Denis, Suger, who has never been at Cluny but once ‡. Holy priests in those ages, dearly as they prized friendship, and profoundly as they admired genius and sanctity, could not sometimes find leisure for the company of a Suger or a St. Bernard, and every door-knocking trifler in our times would call in question the charity of learned and laborious men if they were not always prompt to listen to them. It is not the justice of such complaints that should be advocated, but there does seem occasion to look back with complacency to the manners of those ages which were characterized by the fervour as well as by the prudent and reasonable regulation of friendship. Friends are great thieves of time, but as Petrarch says no time ought to seem less stolen, less squandered than that which, after God, is expended upon friends §. It is not every vile circumstance or interest of money that should take precedence of them. Tyndarus enabled his poor fellow captive, whom he had known a boy when himself

* Id. Liv. I. Epist. XIX.
† S. Petri Ven. Epist. Lib. I. 28.
‡ Epist. Lib. IV. 15. § Petrarch. Epist. ad Vir. illust.

a boy, and whom he had ever loved from that time, to escape, and when his furious master demanded of him where was his fidelity, he quietly and wittily replied, "What do you require that I, who have been your slave since one day and night, should be more attentive to your interests than to his with whom I have passed my life from boyhood*?" But most men are now the captives of masters who would answer instantly that they do require them to show that preference, and who would find no great difficulty in making themselves obeyed, and men, whose employments are all about money or the objects of political ambition, receive their inexperienced friend with such looks as if they presumed that he must have read the inscription of the elder Aldus over their door. But how engaging, how holy are the expressions of affection which we meet with in the writings of the ages of faith! Witness the following letter, addressed to Lullus the bishop: "I entreat you, O beloved brother, forget not, but always cherish in memory that ancient friendship which we entertained for each other when living in the city of Maldubia, where the abbot Eaba nourished us in amiable charity, when he used to call you by the name of Irtel, by which now the abbot Hereca salutes you in holy salutation, as well as the whole congregation which dwells in your monastery. He that shall persevere in peace unto the end, the same shall be saved. Farewell then my beloved, and for ever fare thee well. My beloved, chosen of God, because charity has no price. This is the sign of the abbot Hereca†." That disposition to make little presents, which is found so prevalent in Spain and Italy, has come down from the primitive ages of Christianity, when the pagans used to say, See how they love one another. In the latter country I seldom departed from a monastery or from a casual visit to a holy man, without some book or devout print, which was forced into my hands. You cannot open any volume of correspondence which dates from the ages of faith, without finding some allusion to the interchange of modest gifts, as tokens, not of vanity but of love. Ælred, abbot of Riveaux in Yorkshire in the twelfth century, has left a beautiful book on spiritual

* Plautus Capteivei, III. 4.
† S. Bonif. Epist. LXXXVIII.

friendship, to show the vanity of all friendship which is not spiritual, and sanctified by a devout reference to the eternal love of Christ. "Some men," he says, "are irrationally moved and inclined in mind towards a person by discovering his vices. For many can draw the minds of others to themselves, on account of a vain philosophy or some foolish boldness in military affairs; and what is worse still, many because they are prodigal, luxurious, betrayers of modesty, favourers and followers of base men or vainly fond of silly spectacles, entice others to be inclined towards them *." To these allude the words of St. Augustine, "Si male amaveris tunc odisti, si bene oderis tunc amasti." Here occurs a reflection on the vanity of a friendship which is not according to God, in which the maxims of a heartless and selfish philosophy under the name of liberality, tend constantly to engage men. Even a heathen had the piety to say, You are my friend, but I cannot think with you, or wink at your error.

Συσσωφρονεῖν γὰρ οὐχὶ συννοσεῖν ἔφυ.

St. Bernard said in his letter to Master Guido de Castello, the disciple of Peter Abailard, "I should do you an injury if I were to suppose that you so loved any man as to love his errors with himself. Whoever thus loves any one does not know yet how he ought to love. Such love is earthly, animal, diabolic, equally hurtful to the person loving and to him who is loved †." This wisdom passed even to the friendships of chivalry in the middle ages. Of Bayart the old writer of his life says, "oncques ne fut veu qu'il ait voulu soustenir le plus grant amy qu'il eust au monde contre la raison ‡." But to return to the treatise of our Ælred. "You say," he continues, "what greater peace than to love and to be loved? If indeed in God and for God, I do not deny this; nay I approve of it: but if according to the flesh or the world, see what envyings, what suspicions, what flames of an ardent spirit exclude rest of mind. And if none of these should occur, death, which all must endure, destroys this unity, bearing grief to the survivor and

* Id. III. 12. † Epist. CXCII. ‡ P. 597.

punishment to him who passes *." "While I was still a boy in the school, and delighted with the society of my companions, my whole mind gave itself to affection and devoted itself to love. So that I thought there was nothing sweeter or more useful than to be loved and to love. So fluctuating between diverse loves and friendships, my mind was borne hither and thither, and not knowing the law of true friendship, was often deceived by its similitude. At length there came into my hands the book of Tully de Amicitia, and I congratulated myself on having found a certain formula of friendship. I was delighted with the gravity of the sentences, and with the sweetness of the style; but afterwards, when it pleased my good Lord to correct the devious, raise the fallen, and cleanse the leper, renouncing worldly hope, I entered the monastery, and devoted myself to the study of the holy scriptures, and in a short time I found this so sweet, that all worldly science became, in my eyes, comparatively vile. Then when that book De Amicitia came back to my mind, I wondered why it did not any longer give me the same pleasure as before, for now nothing could excite the whole of my affections which was not seasoned with the salt of the holy scriptures. Wishing then to strengthen these remarks on friendship by the authority of scripture, and to spiritualize them, I undertook to compose this little work on spiritual friendship;" and where he represents his pupil alluding to the book of Cicero, he repeats this testimony in reply: "I am not unacquainted with that book, which used at one time to delight me, but from the days that I became sensible of the sweetness of the holy scriptures, and that the mellifluous name of Christ claimed all my affection, nothing that I ever read or hear seems sweet or lucid to me, however subtilly arranged, which has not the salt of the heavenly letters, and the seasoning of that sweetest name †."

We must not, however, suppose from the gravity of these sentences, that the joys of friendship were included among those things which became to him weary, flat, stale, and unprofitable. Hear how he speaks of the society of Rievaulx. "Three days ago, as I went round

* Id. Speculum Charitatis, Lib. I. cap. 25.

† Ælred. Abb. Rievallensis de Spirit. Amicitia Prolog.

the cloisters of the monastery, when I had seated myself in the midst of a beloved crowd of brethren, I fell to admiring the leaves of each tree, the fruits and flowers, which bloomed as if in a paradise of pleasure. Finding no one in all that crowd whom I did not love, and by whom I did not believe that I was loved, I experienced such joy that it surpassed all the delights of this world. For I felt as if my spirit were transfused into all, and the affections of all infused into me, so that I might say with the prophet, 'Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.'" Then, after alluding to two persons, who were more especially joined to him in intimate affection, his friends from early youth, who had continued with him through all the stages of his religious life, he proceeds as follows: "What then? was it not a certain portion of beatitude thus to love and to be loved? Thus to assist and to be assisted? And thus, from the sweetness of fraternal affection, to fly aloft to the more sublime splendour of divine love on the ladder of charity, at one time ascending to the embraces of Christ himself, and at another descending to rest softly on the earth, in the love of one's neighbour*?" Thus did he enjoy friendship with all the sweetness of humanity and all the unction of a spiritualized and illuminated heart. "Ecce ego et tu," he writes to his young friend, "et spero quod tertius inter nos Christus sit."

But this third course has already exceeded all just proportion, and I must hastily bring it to an end. Enough has been produced to show how richly the pleasures of friendship were included in the inheritance of the meek, who in sooth could hardly have been said to possess the earth, if the grant had not comprised them. "Homer did well," says Plutarch, "in making Telemachus reckon among his calamities that he had no brother†." And just was the remark of Pindar, that all kinds of advantage are derived from friendly men.

——— χρεῖαι δὲ παντοῖ-
αι φίλων ἀνδρῶν ‡.

* De Spirit. Amicit. Lib. III. in Bibliothec. Patrum, Tom. XXIII.

† De Amicit. frat.

‡ Nem. Od. VIII.

And though the Christian philosophy would contradict the poet's sentence, that honour departeth from him who is deprived of friends *, (for few mortal men, he himself admits, are faithful in times of misfortune, so as to be partakers of suffering; and how can the infidelity of hypocrites be charged upon their victim,) yet it would sanction the opinion that friendship supplies, to spirits perfect and already chosen, a bliss which might constrain meekness itself to cry, "Behold the earth is mine."

Such, then, are the observations suggested by a view of history relative to the meek in ages of faith, and to their enjoyment of that possession which was promised to them from the Mount. With hearts only bent upon the attainment of heaven, the earth was in abundance given to them, while the proud and foolishly deliberate race, of which were those who cried, "What shall we do? If we let him go, all men will believe in him, and the Romans will come and take away our place and nation," feared to lose temporal things and thought not of eternal life, and thus, as St. Augustin remarks, lost both †. Mild in all the manners that secured the order and the harmony of social intercourse, imbued with the principle of obedience, meekly submissive to the Church, to the rulers of the state, to the laws which they either received or administered, meek amidst power and riches and nobility, meek in the humbler ranks of the common family, they inherited the earth and derived from it all that could sweeten or dignify the existence of men. Degree was maintained in their Christian warfare. Therefore, conformable to the wise distinction of St. Augustin, the rich were not humbled to piety, so as to exalt the poor to pride; for in no manner would it have been right that in that life, where senators were laborious, there workmen should have been idle, that rustics should have been delicate where came, abandoning their delights, those who were of the Lord's vineyard ‡. Stability was infused into the political as well as into the ecclesiastical order, for the rule of truth and the knowledge of the end of good and evil, put an end for ever to the uncertainties and vicissitudes of speculation,

* Nem. X.
† Tract. 49. in Joan.
‡ S. August. Num. 33.

respecting both the one and the other: it was not supposed that a society, which no heresy or impure superstition had ever disorganized, required from age to age a succession of changes and reformations, the occasions and the plan of which were to be determined by the caprice of sophists, to whose judgment each generation was to submit, in concluding when and how it was to revolutionize the whole frame of its constitution; as if there was nothing fixed or eternal in the principles or end of a Christian government, and as if manners alone were exempt from the necessity of constant vigilance, as if they alone could never perish or require change. As in time of sterility or excess of rain, and the other evils of nature, so men were patient under the luxury or avarice of rulers; for they knew, as the wise historian of Rome observes, that there will be vices as long as there will be men, that neither are these continual, but that they are compensated by the intervention of better things*. Delivered from the anxieties and enmities which would attend continual alterations in the form of that government, whose object, as Seneca explains, was to secure to every man leisure, not labour, recreation and not toilsome pain, the earth to them yielded its choicest treasures, both of material and intellectual good. Innumerable objects of almost infinite variety ministered to their pleasures and necessities; cities rose in the desert, and the beauty of divine temples formed a paradise of pleasure in every spot to which the providence of God might conduct their steps. Nature, sanctified by religion, and restored to harmony by faith, for them was delivered from its ancient malediction. The intellectual world was granted to them as a boundless and inalienable domain. To them poetry offered its sweetest incense, and learning gave up all its accumulated stores. Spirituality threw a resplendent light on every object around them, and developed for their advantage the riches of a mysterious and unfathomable creation. Mind and body were associated to produce the concord of an universal order, and friendship gave them a foretaste of that everlasting communion, for which they were destined in the regions of supernal joy. Blessed in the hope of heaven,

* Tacitus, Hist. IV. 74.

blessed in the possession of the earth, these generations of the poor in spirit and of the meek, fulfilled their appointed course, and passed on from time and things finite to that destination which exceeds all human thought, and all utterance but what is merely negative, to announce with trembling awe and adoring love, what they cannot be,—eternity and God.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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